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THE STANDARD.

THE STATE AND NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY.

A SPEECH,

BY GERRIT SMITH,

In New York City, October 30, 1861.

I HAVE risen to offer this resolution, and to make a speech upon it:

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting, our beloved country will surely perish if her rulers shall persist in recognizing the right of the rebels to any of their possessions; or shall persist in scorning and repulsing the help of men on account of their complexion, or political, social, or domestic condition; or shall not be intent to strengthen the country and cripple the enemy in all possible ways, and at whatever expense to usages and systems, statutes and constitutions, and at however frequent substitution of the sure, swift, summary, sweeping processes of martial law, for the tardy, uncertain, and inadequate steps of civil law.

[At the close of Mr. Smith's speech, the resolution was adopted by the large assembly very enthusiastically, and, with the exception of two or three voices, unanimously.]

Less than one year ago, and all this broad land, from Canada to Mexico and from ocean to ocean, was one country. It is now rent in twain. Evil-minded men have at last accomplished that which they had been so many years plotting. With a patience (if, indeed, it was nothing worse than patience) never before equalled in the history of nations, the North quietly witnessed and unresistingly suffered the progress of the great conspiracy. And the great conspiracy would probably have been allowed to go on essentially unhindered by her, had not the impatient conspirators unwisely resorted to arms. Ere long they would have been able to persuade all the slave States to join them, and that being done, the North, rather than shed blood, and cherishing, moreover, the hope of the speedy penitence and return of the seceders, would have consented to let them go. Not to speak of other links between the North and South, and especially of those dearest and strongest ones welded in the war of the Revolution by the mingled Northern and Southern fathers, the natural features of our country forbid the sundering of it into a Northern and Southern nation. Nevertheless, had the people—not merely the politicians—of the South, at any time, peaceably and respectfully asked the North to let them go, she would have assented: reluctantly and sorrowfully it is true, but still she would have assented. But the conspirators, having ever been under such domestic and social influences as generate the utmost haughtiness, disdained the attitude of petitioners. It was their habit not to ask for what they wanted, but to take it; and to take it forcibly, if they could not take it otherwise. Not strange is it that men so educated had rather seize a mint, or fire at a ship, or capture a fort, than consume weary months in negotiating the peaceable dissolution of a nation. Not strange is it that the proud tyrant prefers getting violently and immediately what a different person prefers getting quietly and ultimately.

It was the violence—the robbery and shooting—to which the impatient conspirators had recourse, that finally availed to arouse the North. She had always argued, and justly too, that there is no constitutional right of secession: no more in the case of a State than of an individual. But now she argued, and with irresistible truth, that the nation which suffers armed rebels (for the great conspiracy had now grown into the great rebellion) to dismember her, is no longer worthy of a place among nations. The world's respect for her is gone; and her respect for herself is gone. Her government is reduced to a farce in the eyes both of other people and her own. She has basely suffered herself to be unmade, and she is to be henceforth only what others may choose to make her.

Even all this, however—and I confess it is very much—would hardly have sufficed to make me rejoice in the arming of the North. So exceedingly great is my abhorrence of bloodshed, and so thoroughly persuaded am I of the soundness of the arguments which I have used so many years in behalf of the revolutionary right of secession, that I perhaps needed even more than all this to make the arming of the North entirely welcome to me. But what more I needed was not lacking.

I had never consented to the idea of an entirely unqualified secession of the slave or other States. Least of all, had I ever consented to a secession for the avowed purpose of carrying on the most sweeping, shameless piracy, which the world has ever known. I refer not here to the boast of the rebels that their scheme extended to the capture of Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and to the spread of the presence and reign of slavery over the whole North. For, in point of fact, their scheme was not secession so much as conquest. Secession was their means of conquest; and the getting away of the South a stepping-stone to the getting away of the North also. These boasts, by the way, were not groundless. The North was already nearly theirs. She was fast acquiescing in the doctrine sanctioned, and it is not too much to say coined, by the Supreme Court of the United States, that "black men have no rights which the white man is bound to respect." She was fast sinking down into preparation for the forthcoming decision of this Court, that men may be held in slavery in a free State, the statutes, and even the Constitution of the State, to the contrary notwithstanding. In every free State a large share of the demagogues, and no small share of the merchants, manufacturers, and editors, not to say of the clergymen also, were in the slaveholding interest. The aristocrats were, of course, all in that interest—every aristocrat the earth over being essentially pro-slavery, because slavery feeds and gratifies that contempt of the humble, which enters so largely into the spirit of aristocracy. The outgoing Congress, and a large share of the Northern people were for giving what would be virtually new constitutional guaranties of slavery. Finally, the new Administration was pledging its service of the Slave Power through the President, and performing it through his own chosen marshals, more signally and appallingly, as hundreds of our poor hunted brothers and sisters can testify, than any Administration had done before. Oh no, these boasts of the Southern traitors (and there were similar boasts of the Northern traitors also) were, as we see in the light of these facts, very far from being groundless. Had these traitors been patient only a little longer, they would have been able, by means of the policy they had for years been so successfully pursuing, to capture Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, much more effectually than by any number or weight of guns. A little more patient pursuing of this policy, and the whole North would quite probably have been carried to the side of the South and slavery. The South had her hook in the North's nose. Aye, not even yet is it entirely withdrawn.

I said that in charging the rebels with the guilt of a sweeping, shameless piracy, I did not refer to these boasts of which I have spoken. Nor did I refer to those extensive debauchings and conquests of the Northern mind which the rebels had in past years been able to achieve, and on which their boasts were mainly founded. I referred to the character of the new government which they have organized, and which they are intent on making the character of civil government everywhere. They argue its excellence, not on local and temporary grounds, but on philosophical principles of universal and enduring application. Theirs is a government for enslaving an inferior race. This purpose is its avowed and vaunted corner-stone. Or, since it is easy to call any race you wish to enslave an inferior one, it is a government for enslaving any or every race. Looking not at its letter only, but at its spirit too, and also at the long-avowed principles and policy of those who organized it, theirs is beyond all controversy a government for enslaving the laboring classes, be it Germans, Irish, Yankees, negroes, or whoever else go to make up these classes. Now I deny that the men who are at work to curse mankind with such a government have so much as one constitutional or revolutionary right—have, indeed, any right whatever, save the right to be conquered and punished. They are preëminently *hostes humani generis*—enemies of the human race—and they have therefore "no rights which any white man," aye, or any black man either, "is bound to respect." They are pirates of the worst type, and more emphatically, therefore, than any other criminals are they outlaws. America, England, France, is each bound to lay her hand upon them. The whole world is, for they are the enemies—the diabolical enemies—of the whole world. When arguing in such a connection as this, we are never to forget that far above all other earthly governments is the world government. France is to take care of France, and England of England. But in addition to this, the world is to take care of the world, France and England included—yes, France and England defied, if they shall dare to make war upon the world. None who have not grown into this truth have as yet adequate conceptions of the claims of one part of the human brotherhood upon another, and of the requirement of the Great Father that each of His children shall care for every other.

Very strange is it that there are a few good men at the North who still insist that we ought by treaty to surrender all the slave States to these pirates, and let them do what they will south of Mason and Dixon's line—these pirates agreeing in turn that we may govern this side of it. But to let them do this we have no right—and especially since to let them do this would of necessary consequence be to let them in the end do what they will north of Mason and Dixon's line also. For to expect these pirates to keep south of that line would be as foolish and vain as to expect the pirates of the seas to keep south of the equator, in virtue of a treaty with them to that effect. Sea-pirates will pirate everywhere; and so will land-pirates—especially such preëminent ones as the Southern rebels. Conventions and treaties can no more bind the one than the other. Do you say that *our* Constitution is also pro-slavery, and that "pot must not call kettle black"? But, under its most pro-slavery construction, our Constitution but tolerates slavery, and tolerates it, too, as only a temporary necessity. The Southern Constitution, on the contrary, makes the upholding, extending, and eternizing of slavery its supreme object. Moreover, it is in the light of the nineteenth century that the rebels have made their Constitution. The fathers made theirs in the comparative darkness of the eighteenth. The world is not to tolerate a wrong now because it did then. Least of all is it to tolerate an enormous, matchless wrong now, because it tolerated a very slight semblance of it then.

I repeat that pirates have no rights, except as I have said, the right to be conquered and punished. When, then, I acknowledge the revolutionary right of secession, I do not acknowledge that it exists in pirates. If in any instance I would let them secede, it would be only because this might seem to be for the interest of their victims, or of others bound up with them. In view of what I have said, the greatest reason we have for hostility to the rebels is not their secession, bad as that is, but their setting up and virtually threatening to extend over the world the most malignant dominion the world has ever known. If we could by any possibility have borne with their breaking away from our government and instituting another, it nevertheless does not follow that we are to bear with their instituting this stupendous piracy. I close under this head with the inquiry whether if France, in contempt of the advanced civilization of the age, and in defiance of God and man, should set up on her soil such a piracy as this which has now raised its huge and bloody proportions on ours, Europe, from which the last remains of slavery have just been cast out, would endure it? She would not. I trust that even Spain would not. For even she, in recently entering into her new possession in the West Indies, showed so much respect for the sentiment of the world as to pledge herself that slavery should never pollute that possession. No, Europe would not be patient with such a worse than barbarism. And why should America be? And why should Europe expect her to be, or insultingly ask her to be?

But I must return from this long digression, to repeat that the violence into which the impatient South was hurried, had the effect to arouse the North. The first discharge of Southern guns awoke her. She sprang to her feet and to arms! She was fired and filled with the purpose of conquering the rebels. Why then did she not conquer them? and conquer them, too, as she was well able to do, in a few months? Alas! it is because she was very soon conquered herself. But do I say that the North was conquered? Even so. By whom? By the rebels? Oh no! The rebels have not conquered her, and never can conquer her with arms. By whom then was she conquered? By her own government. Her *own* government? Yes, the American nation was conquered by the American government. This is the simple, sad fact. This is the amazing spectacle. "Conquer the rebels and hang the leaders!" was the one loud, long, ceaseless cry, which rang last April out of the indignant and inflamed Northern heart. Why is that cry, which so immediately followed the bombardment of Sumter, heard no longer? or but faintly and unfrequently? It is because the government not only did not join in it, but pursued a policy which went to hush it. While the people were burning for conquest, and were of course eager to avail themselves of every possible means to this end, government had the entirely different and very low aim of saving the Constitution and slavery. But do I call the aim of saving the Constitution a very low one? Yes, it is a very low and very contemptible one, if made prominent in the great and solemn hour when the life of the nation is struck at. He is a traitor to me who, when assassins are upon me, busies himself in saving my hat, or even my purse. Tender as is his care of my property, nevertheless, his is not the care and not the assistance which I need at such a time. So, too, is he a traitor—a traitor to his country—who, when rebels are at her throat, employs himself in getting up an interest in her Constitution. I charge the government with having chilled—aye, and killed—the national ardor for conquest. It did this by counteracting the national purpose to save the nation, and by reducing that sublime, ennobling, and irresistible purpose to a degrading and soul-shrivelling concern for the Constitution and slavery. "Save the country!" was the shout of the North after the capture of Sumter. "Save the Constitution! Save slavery!" is the government's miserable substitute for that arousing, glorious shout. Miserable indeed!—for if it is not a sin and shame to get up a cry at any time for slavery, it is nevertheless most unseasonable to get up a cry for the Constitution at such a time as this. Again, were it proper to have in the midst of this great peril of our country so much as one thought of saving that paper, we must remember that the only way to save it is to save the country, and that the only way to save the country is, Constitution or no Constitution, to conquer her enemies. On the other hand, the only way to lose the Constitution is to lose the country, and the only way to lose the country is to fail of employing all possible means for conquering her enemies. We see then that the government, notwithstanding all its talk for the Constitution, is most effectively at work to lose it—the losing of the country being the losing of the Constitution, and the losing of the country being but the too probable result of the prominence given by the government to the saving of the Constitution.

I have not denied that the government is in favor of fighting. I have only denied that it has undertaken to conquer. Not only is the government incessantly and extremely careful to give to the war on our part the character of a strictly defensive one, but it aims most solicitously to conduct it in such a manner as shall do the least unnecessary harm to the enemy. Not only does Congress spare to the rebels the mass of their property; not only is the President exceedingly tender of their rights of property in slaves; but Gen. Scott himself, instead of being absorbed with the purpose of conquest at whatever cost and by whatever means, is reported to have gone into very nice calculations to prove that, if by any possibility we shall happen to kill one more rebel than is absolutely necessary, we shall be guilty of murder! Our great commander will be otherwise busied when he shall be resolved to conquer. The spirit of the calculations I have referred to is not the spirit of a man determined to conquer. In our last war with England each party was ready to fight, but neither was resolved to conquer. Each party was intent on proving its prowess and power in a few battles, but each party was at all times ready for a peace which should not essentially change the ante-war condition. Such a policy might have been proper for us then. But it is death to us now. Nevertheless this is the policy which the government has adopted. Its constantly-avowed purpose—a purpose so soothing to the fears and sustaining to the hopes of the enemy—is to restore things, especially the Constitution and slavery, to where they were before the war began; or, in other words, to reconstruct the government and nation on precisely the old basis of the Constitution and slavery. Even the late order of Secretary Cameron to Gen. Sherman closes with renewing to the slaveholders the comfortable prospect, that when the war is ended it shall still be well with slavery. This purpose of restoration or reconstruction was indicated by the President in his Inaugural and Message; and, let circumstances change as they may, he seems determined not to depart from a line or letter of his Papers. Rather than the President should be found inconsistent with them, the nation must be left to perish.

It comes from all this folly on the part of the government (the like of which folly was never before seen) of declining the use of the very means for crushing a mighty and fearful rebellion quickly, thoroughly, and forever, that we are now but in the beginning of the war, which before this time should have been ended. Yes, had the government, instead of its ruinously and ridiculously fastidious selection of means, but welcomed *all* means, and instead of quenching the high patriotic spirit of the people but fallen in with it, the war, being in that case a war to conquer the rebels and to conquer them too in any way, would ere this have resulted in our success, and in preventing the utterly needless and wicked waste of tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars. Wicked waste, indeed! The spirits of the brave Lyon and Baker, and of hundreds of other brave men have gone up from this war to the great tribunal, carrying with them the accusation that the government murdered them! If I see my fellow-man fallen upon by an assassin, and I withhold help from him, I am guilty of his blood. Many of my neighbors, friends and relatives have gone to the war. They believed it would be short—for they assumed that government would afford them all the help it could. David murdered that brave soldier Uriah by *withdrawing* help from him. Our government murders brave soldiers by *withholding* help from them.

Had we, at the breaking out of the war, adopted the natural and common-sense policy of inviting the blacks to our standard, there would have been among those flocking to it scores of men of whose sagacity and of whose minute acquaintance with all the localities between Washington and Manassas, and of whose loyalty also, there could not have been the slightest doubt. Now, had our army been willing or allowed to avail itself of such depositaries of knowledge, the Bull Run disaster might not have been so great. Nay, it is possible that the disaster itself might not have been. But a different policy obtained, as is illustrated by this order, issued on the eve of the ill-fated march:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 17, 1861.

["General Orders, No. 33.]

"Fugitive slaves will, under no pretext whatever, be permitted to reside, or be in any way harbored, in the quarters and camps of the troops serving in this Department. Neither will such slaves be allowed to accompany troops on the march. Commanders of troops will be held responsible for a strict observance of the order.

"By command of Brig.-Gen. MANSFIELD.
"THEO. TALBOT, Assistant Adjutant-General."

I said that the government might have brought the war to a peaceful close ere this time. The people were fully up to the purpose of conquering the rebels, and at whatever expense to Constitution or slavery—yes, even at the expense of disregarding every line of the one, and leaving not so much as a single subject or slightest remnant of the other. But the government confronted the people, and conquered the people.

Now, let it not be said that I am asking government to violate the Constitution and abolish slavery. I am asking for neither, but only that it shall save the country at whatever expense to any Constitution, or to any species of natural or conventional property. By the way, it is proper for me to confess right here, that ever since the war begun I have looked for the speedy end of slavery. The South, in making her guilty war upon the North, made fatal war upon slavery also. Every shot in this war, come the shot from whichever side, is fired into slavery. So I am not uneasy about the abolition of slavery. No, all I am asking of the government is that it shall be in earnest.

The South is in earnest—for old men and children, and even sojourners, who have no sympathy with her, are compelled to swell her army. The South is in earnest—for her Indians are fighting for her. The South is in earnest—for she is making her negroes work harder for her than ever. In addition to tilling her fields, they have now to work upon her fortifications, and do the drudgery of war—thus leaving her soldiers fresh and vigorous for the battle-field, while ours are worn and wearied by such toils as her negroes reluctantly perform for her, and would be unspeakably glad to perform for us, were we only sane enough to let them. The South is in earnest—for she confiscates, to use her own language, "all the property of every nature and kind whatever," belonging to free States, and on which she can lay her hands. Of the folly of excepting slave property she is entirely innocent. The South is in earnest—and as the Spanish American Colonies, in order to save themselves in their war against Spain, emancipated their slaves, so will she emancipate hers when that alone can save her in her war with us. Should this military necessity come to her, it may help to promote a corresponding moral change in her—a change so great that her statesmen will speak out on slavery as did the Spanish American statesmen. Her distinguished statesman, Senator Toombs, already foresees that the South may be driven in her struggle with the North to emancipate her slaves. But, as yet, he only threatens what the Spanish American statesmen welcomed. Still the day may not be distant when the President of the Southern Confederacy shall say to his Congress, as did the immortal Bolivar to the Congress of Venezuela:

"Horrid, atrocious and impious slavery, covered with her sable mantle the land of Venezuela, and our atmosphere lowered with the dark, gloomy clouds of the tempest, threatening a fiery deluge. I implored the protection of the God of nature, and at His Almighty word the storm was dispelled. The day-star of Liberty arose. Slavery broke her chains, and Venezuela was surrounded with new and grateful sons who turned the instruments of her thrall and bondage into the arms of Freedom. Yes, those who were formerly slaves are now free; those who were formerly enemies of our country are now its defenders. I leave to your sovereign authority the reform or repeal of all my ordinances, statutes, and decrees. But I implore you to confirm the complete emancipation of the slaves, as I would beg my life or the salvation of the Republic."

Such inspired words might now be flowing from the lips of American statesmen, both North and South, had it not long ago been settled, both North and South, that they are fitted to the lips of fanatics only, and that they are utterly incompatible with the wisdom and dignity of true statesmanship.

I said that the South may yet emancipate her slaves. Closely as she clings to slavery, she would infinitely rather give it up than come under the North. Much as she loves slavery, she hates the North more. Indeed, no other people on the earth loathes and despises another people so much as the South the North. And very sorry am I to be obliged to confess that our past truckling to her, and our refusal to smite her "between the joints of the harness," give her but too much cause to loathe and despise us.

I would here ask when could we conquer the South, should she be able by promises and concessions to her blacks to enlist them so heartily in her cause as to make it their own? Never, never, never! Those four million and a-half of people, including bond and free, belonging to a race peculiarly attached to home, and "bornin grounds," their women well nigh as hardy, and as able to fight as their men, and both capable of subsisting in swamps and mountains, and upon food and clothing quite too coarse and scant for those not accustomed to them, could never be conquered. Only let our government persist a little longer in its present infatuation of insulting and repelling the blacks, and the blacks will have to be conquered before the South can be. Certainly true will this be, if, while we are thus driving them to identify themselves with the cause of the South, she shall find herself compelled by the disasters of war to coax them to it. The one great question in this war (and oh, that the North might, ere it is too late, get her eyes open to it!)—the one great question all the way from the beginning to the end of the war—is, which will succeed, the North or the South, in making the blacks her ally? In vulgar phrase—which will succeed in getting the "niggers"? For whichever does will surely be the victor. This "poor blind Samson" will decide the strife. Yet a little while, though a very little while, and the North has it in her power to make the blacks the utterly destructive enemies of her enemy. But let her not forget that in order to do this, she has first to make them her friends.

An Abolitionist might say that he will be content with the emancipation of the slaves, be it brought about by the North or the South. But he will not say so if he is a patriot also. For the patriot's country is lost when it is divided. And divided will our country be for at least a generation or two if the South shall by the wise policy of emancipation strengthen herself at home and abroad. Again, such an Abolitionist as I speak of would not prove himself to be a wise one. For how much better would it be for the emancipated to find help in the friendship, sympathies and resources of a great unbroken nation than to be cut off from that help and confined to their dependence upon an impoverished fraction of the nation!

I said that the South is in earnest. Would that I could say that the North is! She *was* in earnest. The news of the taking of Sumter wrought her up into intense earnestness. But, alas, here and there and almost everywhere, the government has succeeded in toning down this earnestness into a sneaking, snivelling, servile care for the Constitution and slavery. For proof that this is so, see what abominable things the sunken soul of the North is submitting to! The President employs his army in catching and returning runaway slaves. Some have been returned since Secretary Cameron's recent order promised, as many interpreted it, though as I could not, much better things. The President shrinks not from perpetrating this outrage upon the Constitution, though he is thrown into great alarm when Fremont exceeds the limits of a mere statute. Whence this difference? I am sorry to be obliged to say that it is because his own is a step *for* slavery and Fremont's one *against* it. But perhaps you will say that, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, the President is not to be always controlled by the Constitution. I admit it; and I add, that neither is Fremont, in his military capacity and military district, to be always controlled by a statute. Again, if the President would have Fremont, "in season and out of season," so scrupulously observant of Congressional authority, why does not he himself show some little respect for the declaration of the popular branch of Congress, that "It is no part of the duty of our military arm to catch or return fugitive slaves"? But whether law can be quoted for the President or against Fremont, it is enough to condemn the one and vindicate the other at this point (I speak of no other point between them) that the seizing and sending back of slaves gives "aid and comfort" to the enemy, while the wresting of them from the rebels would, if followed up, speedily end the rebellion. Oh no, the North is not in earnest! Most certainly the government is not. For when Indians, as is their clear right and sacred duty, would join us in defending a country which is theirs as well as ours, which contains their families and treasures as well as ours, the government is too merciful to the rebels, to accept the services of such terrible fighters. There must be no Indian fighting against the rebels. Such ugly fighting must be against ourselves exclusively. Again, when negroes, both of the free and slave States, are impatient to give to our cause their brawny arms as well as their brave hearts, the government is too dainty and select to welcome such vulgar and unpolished aid. There is no room in its genteel arrangements for negroes any more than in its merciful arrangements for Indians. Should our nation perish in this war, in which she is surpassing all the folly of all the fools that ever lived, a suitable inscription upon her monument will be: "DIED OF EXCESSIVE MERCY AND EXCESSIVE REFINEMENT." How inefiably disgusting is this sham war of the North! Bad as is the cause of the rebels, nevertheless the earnestness with which they serve it makes them respectable compared with the North in her half-against-and-half-for-the-enemy policy. Had the North the spirit of her fathers, she would employ not only Indians and negroes, as did they in both their wars against England, but, seeing that her enemies are rebels, and the guiltiest of all rebels, she would make the devil himself work for her, could she but succeed in throwing the harness on the back of the old rascal. For once in his life he would be put to a good use.

What an amazing madness is this refusal of help!—and especially this throwing back of help into the hands of the enemy, and consequently into effective sympathy with the enemy!

Nothing is plainer than that we should either recede from the war, give it up, and let the rebels have their own way; or that we should resolve to conquer them, and to use, as under such resolve we of course would, all the means to this end which Providence places within our reach. Continue to fight the rebels we may; and win more than half the battles we may. But fighting without purpose to conquer will no more bring us to final success than will going to sea without compass or rudder bring us to the intended port.

I have in effect said that the avowed, paramount, and engrossing object of the government is to reëstablish the Constitution and slavery. But the entertaining of this object in the midst of our life and death struggle is not more untimely and ruinous than the hope of realizing it is vain. As rationally might you expect that the earthquake which is convulsing the city will leave the city as it found it, as that the views taken of the Constitution and slavery after the war will be identical with the views taken of them before the war. They who shall survive the war will do just what they please with the Constitution and slavery, our President and his politicians to the contrary notwithstanding. If these survivors shall like slavery, they will have it if they can. If they shall dislike it, they will not have it. If they shall like and have slavery, they will make the Constitution clearly and strongly for it. If they shall dislike it, they will make the Constitution clearly and strongly against it. Nothing can be more foolish than for us to be stereotyping for the use of the survivors of the war our views of the Constitution and slavery. Our one business is to save the country. Their business will be what they and not what we choose to make it.

I need not repeat that we shall fail in this war unless we aim at conquest. I add that this must be our aim very speedily. Tens, yes, hundreds of thousands are fast losing their interest in a war conducted in a way to make it disgusting to common sense, and hateful to the best friends of God and man. They are fast ceasing from their exhortations, prayers, gifts, and loans for it; and they are also fast ceasing from their readiness to take up arms for it. The Northern blacks are necessarily disgusted with a war, which insultingly refuses their services; and there is no small danger that the Southern blacks will soon be lost to the cause which repulses them, and be secured, "arm and soul," to the cause of the rebels. The patience of the nations with our folly will be quite exhausted by the coming spring. They will, by that time, be prepared to tell us very earnestly that we ought not to let our sham war derange the industrial and commercial interests of the world any longer. By that time they will be prepared to give their sympathies, and, in every admissible way, their help to the South. We shall of course remonstrate. But all in vain. Boastfully and indignantly we shall tell the nations how vast is our power compared with the feebleness of the rebels. To their question—Why then did we not conquer them? will be our whining answer, that we had to take care of the Constitution and slavery. And then will come their scornful and withering rejoinder, that the nation which, when assailed by a mighty rebellion, finds anything else to do than to put down the rebellion, and by whatever means, is unworthy of the respect and even the name of a nation.

Our Administration has recently taken it into its head that some nation is about to make war upon us, and that we must therefore, with the least possible delay, go to the vast expense of fortifying our lake and sea coasts. But if any nation is now meditating a war against us, she is emboldened to do so by our nonsensical and ineffectual way of carrying on the war against the rebels. Let her see us giving up that way for one that is rational and successful, and she will know better than to molest us. Let her, for instance, see the Administration welcoming the march Southward, from Canada and the Northern States of half a dozen or a dozen regiments of stalwart black men, and the spectacle will teach her that we are at last in earnest, and that we shall not only crush our foes at home, but shall be prepared to meet any foes from abroad. Infinitely the best way to defend our lake and sea coasts is to let the negroes play their effective part in conquering the rebels. Oh, that such a spectacle as this to which I have referred could have been witnessed last June! What man, who has wisely considered the various elements of our country's population, with their mutual influences, their peculiar relations and circumstances, is not convinced that such a spectacle then would have resulted in a termination of the war ere now?

I love my country, but I strongly fear that she is lost. Perhaps it was impossible to save a country whose people had been trained to worship a Constitution, and to scoff at the setting up of God's law above it. Moreover, for nothing (and this was the most guilty feature of the idolatry) was that Constitution worshipped so much as for its power, justly or unjustly accorded to it, to prevent the breaking of the chains of the slave. Perhaps I was foolish in thinking that such a country either would or could be saved. I confess that, when the war begun, I thought it would be a short one; for I was so simple as to assume that the government was already, or quickly would be, aroused, not merely to *fight* the rebels, but to *conquer* them. I took it for granted that the government would behave rationally; and would no more suffer the Constitution than any other paper to stand in its way—slave property no more than any other property. Very soon, however, I began to learn my great mistake—for very soon the government, instead of moving its irresistible might against the foe, and doing so with or without Constitution—carrying it by its side or trampling it under foot, as might seem most expedient—was worshipping and inculcating the worship of the Constitution, and tying up with its provisions the hands of both government and people. Very soon, too, the government was infatuated enough to decline the help of men because they were Indians or negroes. Very soon, too, our army was employed in the suicidal and satanic work of seizing innocent men, calling them slaves, and sending them into slavery. This violation of the Constitution was, of course, with the consent, if not with the express direction, of the President—of him whose concern for the Constitution is not at all in respect to the pro-slavery, but only the anti-slavery violations of it. Very soon, too, our army began to "aid and comfort" the rebels by promising to protect them from servile insurrections. These errors and these crimes were heavy blows at my heart. But as yet, I was able to cheer it up with the hope that though so enormous, they nevertheless proceeded from the bad habits rather than from the bad intents of the country—from inconsideration of their flagrant character rather than from pleasure in it—and would therefore soon be corrected. Then, too, my conscience began to revolt at my identifying myself, voice, pen and purse, with such a war. But as yet I was able to pacify it with arguments that the government would soon cease to repeat its crimes and follies. Nevertheless, as time went on, their crimes and follies multiplied. Moreover, Congress did but little better than the Cabinet. Its act of Confiscation, as we have already seen, ridiculously and madly saves to the rebels the great amount of their property and means for carrying on the war. I do not say that our Congress was, at its Extra Session, in the *pay* of the rebels. It was not—for it was, with the exception of the traitors, a body of honorable men. But I do say that by means of its talk about the Constitution, and its much stress upon it, and by means also of its great tenderness for the rights and interests of the rebels, it was in the *service* of the rebels.

The course of things went on unchanged. To talk for the Constitution and to protect slavery; to insult and outrage the black man; this was still the policy. My courage would sink, though not utterly. I was "faint, yet pursuing." But at last when the President took the side of the rebels against Fremont, and commanded him not to go beyond very narrow limits in taking away their slaves—when, I say, that "commandment came—I died." I sank down in despair of the country—perhaps never more to come up out of the despair until the government shall come up out of its folly and madness. We may, as I have said, win more than half the battles. Complete success may seem just within our grasp. Nevertheless, we shall be defeated in the end unless the government shall very speedily resolve to wield every power within its command. This tying up of one of our hands while our antagonist uses both is a sort of pugilism in which we shall certainly fail.

I said that we may win more than half the battles, and appear to ourselves to be on the eve of success. But this would only be like to make our case worse—and especially should it take place soon. For while this would make us more haughty than ever, more contemptuous of the blacks than ever, and more disposed to push them away from us than ever; it would be like on the other hand, by alarming the South, to drive her to court the blacks and bring them, by freeing them, into a close and irresistible union with herself. Yes, just now, defeats might be better for us than victories. For they might make us willing to accept the help of black men before it is too late.

I would do no injustice to the President. Although in policy and practice he is in effect with the enemy, he is, I doubt not, in heart and purpose with his country. The errors in which he has involved himself, and by which he is but too probably ruining both himself and his country, have sprung in no small degree from his foolish anxiety to show himself clear of all partiality for the North; but mainly, however, from his excessive desire to conciliate the border States—especially Kentucky and Missouri—and more especially his native Kentucky. I called this desire excessive. It seems well nigh exclusive also. His concern to secure the friendship of Kentucky appears greater than to secure that of the whole North. "He holds at the spigot while it runs at the bung." "He is penny wise and pound foolish." The President's bargain with the loyal slaveholders of the border States (save me, by the way, from the loyalty of a thorough slaveholder, and especially if he be one who makes the saving of slavery the condition of his loyalty!) is that *they* shall stand up for the Union, and *he* for slavery. Unhappy bargain! No less so for being but understood instead of expressed. If persisted in, it cannot fail to bring ruin to the parties to it and to the country also. Three months may not pass away before these loyal slaveholders will see that they have lost all through their eagerness to save slavery—that their ill-judged stipulation for the safety of slave property has resulted in the loss of all safety, even the safety of their lives. By that time they may see that the only way to kill the rebellion in their States was not only to acknowledge that the war power has the same absolute right over slave property that it has over every other kind of property, but also to get the right exercised as speedily as possible and as sweepingly as possible. By that time they may learn in the most appaling lessons that, in respect to the slaves of the rebels, Fremont was wise and the President and these loyal slaveholders were foolish. These loyal slaveholders will have but themselves to thank for their too probable ruin. Slavery is the rallying point and the strength of their enemies: and for dear life's sake then they should have struck at slavery and been glad to save themselves, even though at the expense of losing their slaves. Nay, if they could not bring themselves to carry their States clean over to the side of Freedom, they would by carrying them clean over to the side of slavery have made their condition far more comfortable than it can possibly be in their miserable fluctuations between the two.

I need not extend my argument, and I must not further tax your patience. The one thing which the people of the North need to do (and I would that the people in this crowded house might set the influential example of doing it), is to call on the government (as it would do by passing the resolution I have read) to give up forthwith its merely fighting policy, and substitute for it the purpose of conquest—a purpose, moreover, so earnest as shall command the employment of whatever muscles or means may be needed to achieve the conquest. If the government shall come to be animated by such a purpose, it will no more decline the help of a man for his being red or black, than for his being white; and it will then stop at no expense either to slavery or Constitution. No Democrat, however pro-slavery, and whether living or dead, has written or spoken as much for the Constitution, and for the Constitution just as it is, as I have. Nevertheless, I have, since the war began, cared nothing for the Constitution, and I shall never more care for it until it shall be settled that I have a country for a Constitution. I care not for my sick child's dress until I shall know that the child lives to wear it. So, too, the slaveholder, provided he is truly loyal, will have no concern for slavery until his country shall have conquered her enemies. Innumerable things that we cling to in peace we must sit loose to in war. I am an absolute free-trader. Nevertheless, when, a few months ago, government proposed a higher tariff, I was in favor of piling up the taxes to any height that would serve the most effectual prosecution of the war. Europe esteems our present tariff to be a commercial blunder. But, whether it is wise or unwise as a war measure is the only legitimate question.

In conclusion, let me entreat that if any impression has been made by any of my remarks on this occasion, no one shall undertake to weaken it by calling me an Abolitionist—for I have not spoken as an Abolitionist. I have spoken only as might an Anti-Abolitionist, who sets his country above the Constitution and slavery, and who would have *her* live though *these* perish.

It is true that I am an Abolitionist; and as I seem to have been born as well as bred one, it would be quite idle to deny that I am one. But for months the state of the public mind has not been such as to encourage me to speak or write as an Abolitionist. Until my countrymen shall be willing to save themselves, I shall have no hope that they can be moved to save the slaves. Very rare is the man who is willing to put forth efforts to save another, while he is yet so infatuated as to refuse to save himself. Let me see my countrymen cured of this infatuation, and resolved to save their country by whatever means, and I shall not be slow to recommence speaking and writing as an Abolitionist. Then shall I again declare, in the words of the best of all books, that "Salvation is of the Lord"; and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more than upon unrighteous individuals. Then, too, shall I be as ready as other Abolitionists to show that the North and the South, which for forty years have not in spirit been one nation, will, when slavery is abolished, become rapidly a homogeneous, happy, mutually-loving and prosperous people—united to each other by freedom, as emphatically as they are now sundered from each other by slavery. Again I could not in the present guilty state of the public mind speak or write as an Abolitionist, except in bursts of indignation at the hypocrisy of the past lamentations of the North over her alleged inability to abolish slavery. *Surpassing* hypocrisy! Seeing that now, when slavery is threatening the very existence of the nation, and when the monster lies at the mercy of martial law, the North not only does not call out in thunder-tones for the abolition of slavery, but basely acquiesces in the government policy of protecting it.

Were I, my hearers, to speak to you as an Abolitionist, I would say that penitence alone can save a nation whose people have corrupted and debased themselves by upholding and extending slavery. I would say that her destruction is the unavoidable penalty of her people's crimes against the Great Father and His oppressed children, unless those crimes are repented of. Finally, were I to speak to you as an Abolitionist, I would say: AS GOD LIVES AND REIGNS, EITHER THIS NATION WILL ABOLISH SLAVERY, OR SLAVERY WILL ABOLISH IT!

I have done. I can now say that in this city also I have faithfully protested against this needless impoverishing of the nation, and against this needless bringing of heart-breaking sorrows into tens of thousands of its families. In a word, I can now say that I have, here as well as elsewhere, lifted up my voice earnestly against this wicked sacrificing of the country by the government. Her blood be not upon me, but upon those who are guilty of it! For more than twenty years I have been warning my countrymen—may I not say, as said Paul, "night and day, and with tears"?—of the rapid approach of this time of violence and distress. But hitherto they would not hear me; and they probably will not hear me now. Nevertheless, I cannot restrain myself from saying that our beloved country will surely perish if the present policy of her rulers shall be persisted in.

A SLAVE-TRADER CONVICTED.

From The New York World, Nov. 9.

THE readers of *The World* are already familiar with the case of Capt. Gordon, of the slave ship Erie. The Erie, in August, 1860, was captured near the Congo river, on the coast of Africa, by the United States steamship-of-war Mohican. About 900 negroes were found on board, in a state of misery which beggars description. The vessel was placed in charge of a prize crew, the negroes were taken to Monrovia, in Liberia, and the officers were brought to the port of New York. The master and mates were indicted under the laws for the suppression of the slave trade. No serious effort, however, was ever made to bring them to trial until the case was undertaken by the present U. S. District Attorney, E. Delafield Smith. No efforts had been made to secure evidence. Lieut. Dunnington, one of the capturing officers, deserted to the rebel army, and his testimony was lost. Lieut. Todd, however, who knew less of the affair, stood ready to do all in his power to aid the prosecution. The case was tried by Mr. Smith, in June last, and the jury disagreed.

Having discovered that the Erie cleared at Cuba for her guilty voyage to the coast of Africa, the District Attorney wrote, by way of Europe, to our new consul at Havana, Capt. Shufeldt, who transmitted to New York the ship's crew list. With this key Mr. Smith employed detectives both at New York and

lavery, and the determination of the slaveholders to extend it over the whole country, as the origin and object of the rebellion. The whole speech was replete with a vindication of free labor against slave labor.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left in other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiatical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no louger needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of the PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,
Mary May,
Louisa Loring,
Henrietta Sargent,
Sarah Russell May,
Helen Eliza Garrison,
Anna Shaw Greene,
Sarah Blake Shaw,
Elizabeth Gay,
Caroline Thayer,
Abby Kelley Foster,
Lydia D. Parker,
Augusta G. King,
Mattie Griffith,
Mary Jackson,
Evelina A. Smith,
Caroline M. Severance,
Mary Willey,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah P. Remond,
Mary E. Spearns,
Sarah J. Nowell,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Anne Langdon Alger,
Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Cowing,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Sarah C. Atkinson,
Abby Francis,
Mary Jane Parkman,
Georgiana Otis,
Abby H. Stephenson.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR.

THE most important session of Congress ever held is fast approaching. The issues that shall proceed from the National councils within the next six months will be the issues of life or of death to the nation. For the first time in our history a Congress assembles free from a prevailing slaveholding element, and, we trust, free from a preponderating pro-slavery one. The business of the nation, and the direction to be given to its affairs, need not be delayed or diverted by those malignant influences. The highest interest of the nation and the prosperity and virtue of countless millions through many generations may be secured or defeated, according as that supreme Legislature shall do its work well or ill. Within the six months following the opening of this session will the great questions which underlie our National glory and prosperity receive their wholesome solution, or be remitted to the uncertain decision of futurity. This cowardly instinct of our countrymen—an instinct born and bred of slavery—which prompts them to shift the discharge of a duty and accepting of a responsibility upon the shoulders of posterity, has been indulged in long enough. Let us hope that it will be subdued by the higher and manlier impulse which urges to the discharge of duty and the acceptance of responsibility, at the very moment when such action is most needed and may be made the most effectual. The nation looks to its Congress, in this its distress, and implores—nay, demands—its help out of it. It is for this purpose, theoretically, that it has constituted this body of its representatives; and though it has been made, up to this time, the more or less reluctant tool of the Slave Power, it hopes that the time has at last come when Congress can act for the benefit of the whole people, and not exclusively, or mainly, for less than the three hundredth part of the same.

But while the nation expects so much from the Congress, we should remember that the Congress justly looks to the nation for instruction and support. No action of Congress can be taken, or can stand, that does not represent the well-considered, deliberate sense of the nation. Congress can act, but it must be inspired from the minds and hearts of the people. This is eminently true now. In time past, the slaveholders, by virtue of their attraction of cohesion among themselves, and of the force which such a power exercised over the mercenary and the mean at the North, have virtually dictated the laws and appointed the foreign and domestic policy of the nation. Happily, this accursed thing has been removed, mainly, from the national councils, and there is a reasonably fair field for honest endeavor to labor for the redemption of the land from its disgrace and its ruin. In order that these endeavors may have this fair field, and have fair play while using it, it is necessary that the hands of the champions should be strengthened and their hearts encouraged by sympathy and support from at home. We have faith to believe that the majority of the Congress soon to assemble will be desirous of making itself the most renowned legislative body that ever sat, by the clearness of its vision and the firmness of its action, if it have reason to believe that it is but speaking the mind and doing the will of the people it represents. And, without this, we cannot expect the thorough and vigorous measures which alone are sufficient for our need. Congress now, for the first time, stands for what is best in the nation—for the North and West, and for whatever remnant there may be left of honest and virtuous lovers of liberty, who sigh for equality of rights and for a well-administered civil government, out of the body of the death in which they are bound, in the bonds of the slaves—their neighbors whom they may not help, and who are doomed to be their own crushing curse.

We have not withheld our voice, as we saw necessity, from rebuking what seemed to be the sloth and the time-serving of the government. We have felt, and uttered the indignation we felt, at the permissive slave-catching of military officers, against all civil and constitutional law, while the proclamation of Gen. Fremont was curtailed of its fair proportions to please open and secret rebels, though it contained nothing that was not strictly lawful and constitutional. But, perhaps, we have not made allowance enough for the necessities of the case. A man growing up to manhood under the influences prevailing in this nation must have been more than man not to be overcome by them. And, high as the opinion of his friends may put Mr. Lincoln, we do not apprehend that they regard him as more than mortal. As long as a slaveholder remains in the Union, calling himself loyal to it, that slaveholder is the master of the situation. The supreme power virtually rests in him. At this moment, Mr. Joseph Holt is the Dictator of the United States, and Mr. Lincoln is but his Master of the Horse. It is provoking that it should be so; but, we suppose, it is inevitable, until the people are pleased to demand that the cause of the rebellion be removed out of its way forever. Secret traitors are doing all they can to make the Executive believe a lie, and play, with perfect poverty of purpose, into the hands of the rebels. Infamous men and infamous journals, such as the Boston *Post* and *Courier*, and the New York *Herald*, under fair pretence of friendly ends, baited with words of glozing courtesy, claiming to be supporters of the government and eminent friends of the Union, are all the time playing the game of Mr. Davis and his accomplices, and chuckling over the gullibility of his adversaries.

For these men know, as well as we, that there can be no military success in this war into which the slave element does not enter. They secretly scoff, as we grieve, at the folly that strengthens the weak point of the enemy and makes him impregnable where he might be most easily assailed. They know, as well as we do, that it is impossible for the North to prevail in this war, on the principle of leaving slavery at its end just as the enemy found it at its beginning. They know as well as we that the rebels have as many men, as well armed, as well disciplined and better posted than we, and with better officers to handle them. They know that this war, conducted on the principle of keeping the slaves in slavery, is certain to end in the recognition of the Confederate States, or, which they most desire, a surrender on our side in the shape of a Compromise, which should give the slaveholders the dominion and power over us forever. The malice of these wretches peeps out of their every sheet, and they disguise themselves in the national uniform, that they may the more effectually damage the national cause. Their influence is doubtless great, and may be prevalent if not encountered by manlier and nobler counsels. The dregs of the Democratic and Bell and Everett parties—for we gladly exculpate all that is high-minded and honorable among them from the charge—spaniels who fawned on their slave-masters for caresses or crumbs, or hounds who hunted their game for them—are uniting everywhere to stab the government under the fifth rib, though with words of friendship and loyalty on their lips. These machinations must be exposed and counteracted. These men are not many; but they are active and malignant, and they hope to get the control of the government, in the interest of the rebels, through the default and *laches* of good men.

Let all such bestir themselves, while it is yet time. Let them act on the members of Congress in their District, if they have access to them, before they go to Washington. Let them compel the attention of Congress, when it has come together, by the multitude of their memorials and petitions, asking at its hands their Great Deliverance. A deliverance greater even for the whites than for the blacks—at the North as well as at the South. Let us urge them to organize victory by calling in justice to their aid, and to make a great Republic possible by purging it of the weakening taint of slavery. This we do not do as Abolitionists merely. It is an invention of the enemy that we have provoked this civil war for the purpose of conjuring Abolition out of the conflagration. We do but implore the Powers that Be—Powers that we have made to Be—that they will seize the occasion which the madness of slaveholding arrogance and greed has offered to them to rid the country of the curse which has so long made it impotent for lasting prosperity and true glory and ridiculous in the eyes of foreign nations. We have supplied a form for a Memorial such as suits our ideas of the emergency. Let all whom that example satisfies sign and circulate it. If a better form occurs to any one, let him use it rather. Only let the sense of the people pour in upon Congress in some shape or other, so that this great issue may not go against the North by our default.

WORDS THAT ENCOURAGE US.

THE reluctance of the Administration to accept the real issue of the war and put down the rebellion by removing its cause, disheartens many friends of freedom and fills them with fearful forebodings of the fate of the country. We should be disheartened too, but for our firm conviction that public opinion is fast ripening for the measure of abolition as a necessary means for crushing out the slaveholding conspiracy, and that such a public opinion, once formed, must be obeyed by our rulers. As evidence that the tide is beginning to set in the right direction, look at the following extract of a speech recently made in this city by Col. John Cochrane, lately a Democratic member of Congress and formerly Collector of this port:

"Though he was not in favor of making this a war of emancipation, yet, if the exigencies of the service required the putting of arms into the hands of the negroes to fight for the Union, he was heartily in favor of availing ourselves of such a chance of war. This expedient would be no more than our enemies would do towards us. He thought this the general opinion of those who had gone to fight the battles of the Union."

Col. Cochrane, in returning to Washington, repeated the same sentiment in an address to his own regiment, placing himself squarely upon the doctrine of the "military necessity of the emancipation of the slaves." And what is still better, the Secretary of War, following Col. Cochrane, said:

"SOLDIERS: It is too late for me to make you a speech to-night, but I will say that I heartily approve every sentiment uttered by your noble commander. The doctrines which he has laid down I approve as if they were my own words. They are my sentiments—sentiments which will not only lead you to victory, but which will in the end reconstruct this our glorious Federal Constitution. It is idle to talk about treating with these rebels upon their own terms. We must meet them as our enemies, treat them as enemies, and punish them as enemies, until they shall learn to behave themselves. *Every means which God has placed in our hands it is our duty to use, for the purpose of protecting ourselves.* I am glad of the opportunity to say here, what I have already said elsewhere, in these few words, that *I approve the doctrines this evening enunciated by Col. Cochrane*" (loud and prolonged cheering).

Gen. Burnside, of Rhode Island, who was called out at the reception given to a Massachusetts Regiment that passed through New York on Tuesday last, said:

"The truth in all its monstrosity was upon us, and if that slavery which had been the very causo of the war should really prove, as it was now thought to be, a positive source of belligerent strength to the enemy, he, for one, would wish to see it swept away (tremendous sensation and applause). He had once thought that the old recognition of all State Rights might be maintained, but the time had come when all rights and liberties were menaced, and he would save them, it needs be, even by the infringement of one branch of them: (Great acclamation.) If one part of our system be bad, in order to save the rest, let us destroy that bad part! (Renewed cheering.) It would be bad generalship to allow this force to exist, to the peril of our lives and that of our armies. It would not be allowed existence for one moment if called by any other name than slavery. Here were our brothers pouring out their blood like water, and were we to allow this force to exist without turning it to good purpose? Let us now see if that power is to be turned to their account or ours. No man would be happier than he to see the government established again exactly as it was; but if anything stood in the way of that, let us put it out of the way" (applause, and cries of "Good").

U. S. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, following Col. Burnside, said:

"He had just listened to the most important speech made during the war! Gen. Burnside had, to-day, touched the key-note that thrills the heart of this nation! (Vehement applause.) And the nation will respond to his words! (Applause renewed.) He trusted that such would be the words, thoughts and acts of every man who rallies around the flag of our country! (Continued approbation.) It was poor policy to manage the war otherwise. It was useless to send our men from their firesides, their workshops and their farms, to die upon the Southern soil, if the cause of the war were not removed, and the power that brought on the conflict without a cause, and aimed at the destruction of the Republic, remained untouched in the chief source of its strength" (great applause).

George Bancroft, the well-known historian—for many years a partizan Democrat—lately presided over a large public meeting, in the Cooper Institute, called for the purpose of extending sympathy and aid to the loyalists of North Carolina. On the subject of emancipation he said nothing very explicit, but the following extract from his speech on the occasion shows that his mind is moving in the right direction:

"Listen to the words that come to you from the tomb of Andrew Jackson: 'The Union must be preserved at all hazards' (great cheering). I do not understand turning a soldier of the United States into a constable to keep the peace on the plantations of the Secessionists (enthusiastic and prolonged applause; 'Give it to them'). It is not the part of strength to return them; it is not the part of a brave man to make himself a police officer of that sort (cheers). It is not the part of a soldier who fights under the flag of the Revolution. It is not worthy of a man of honor. It is not consistent with the duty of a commanding officer in the service of the people of the United States (cheers). We send the army into the South to maintain the Union, to restore the validity of the Constitution. If any one presents claims under the Constitution, let him begin by placing the Constitution in power, by respecting it and upholding it."

The Rev. Dr. Tyng, on the same occasion, expressed his anti-slavery convictions most emphatically, as follows:

"It has been said two or three times this evening that we are to touch the great subject that oppresses the loyalists of North Carolina gently, lightly, contingently, some time hereafter. I will simply say that I recognize in their sorrows the bite of the dragon that has poisoned every acre of their soil (great applause). I see in those men the mere victims of the malice and vindictiveness of that one system that every freeman of this land should be determined to tread down deep and forever (cheering). If I am called upon to speak, this is what I must and I will say. The postponement of the great consideration whether we shall heal the patient and eradicate the disease, till we have buried half the land, and then try our temporizing and contingent experiments upon the latter half, is no part of my system (great applause). I am ready to take the hand of our chairman, my companion when, so high, we stood as Freshmen in College, and say, IF SLAVERY IS IN THE WAY OF THE UNION, THEN TREAD SLAVERY DOWN INTO THE DUST (applause and three cheers). And I am not for making the slightest compromise of time, or circumstances, or methods, or means, or instruments, so that I do not overthrow the great and immortal principles of justice, fidelity, truth and love, in the accomplishment of this great destruction of an incarnate devil on earth (enthusiastic applause). These men, the loyalists of North Carolina, are the victims of the intolerance of slavery. Are they not the mud-sills that a slaveholding aristocracy despises and treads into the ground?—the poor, suffering whites that slavery detests above all classes of men? And when they come to us, the very victims of this oppressor, bleeding, suffering and distressed, shall we stand to take off our hats in all the grace of philosophic submission to the proud oppressors that have destroyed them? Never, never, never! (Cheering.) I could not go to North Carolina and heal the sorrowing and bind up the broken-hearted, but every step I took with the oily influence of this heavenly labor, I would carry with me also a power that would choke that viper (cheers). I have solemnly thrown away every possible concession to any other principles than duty to God and duty to man in this relation" (loud applause).

Have we not reason to be encouraged when words like these are uttered by men of mark, not hitherto known as Abolitionists, and received with hearty applause by crowded assemblies in the city of New York? And, more especially, have we not reason for rejoicing in view of the significant avowal of the Secretary of War, recorded above?

VOICE OF A TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMAN.

LETTER FROM LIEUT.-GEN. THOMPSON.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: Your paper, of 12th October, which you have been so kind as to send me, conveys matter of exultation to all the real friends of the cause on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is clear America means to do away with slavery, in spite of all that England can do to hinder it.

The way in which the professing anti-slavery party in that country have shown themselves unequal to the situation, is matter of regret, and something akin to shame. It is traceable to the immense power the dread of losing the cotton trade, if the colored man ceases to be whipt for it, exercises in all directions.

This points to the fact, that striking a blow at this terror would be the way to bring back these considerate brethren to allowing themselves to be counted in our ranks.

The bugbear they set up is, that cotton is to cease to be cultivated in the Southern States. Strike boldly at this babyism, which is only to be done on your side the water.

What is to be done with four million of people, if you liberate them? Such is the outcry of our feeble ones; the object being to keep up the chance of some compromise which shall preserve slavery and not endanger cotton.

Ask them what was done with their own liberated slaves. As all men without a cotton twist in their heads might have discovered, they earned their bread as they did before, by hard labor in the plantation, only with wages instead of horse-feed, costing less to the masters, but without the adjuncts of whip and auction-block.

As Mrs. Glass would say, "First beat your rebels,"—and then see how they will crowd to you on the offer of keeping their forfeited estates, on condition of working in harness instead of by the tail.

The next two bugbears are, the "nameless horrors" scarecrow—as if American soldiers were noodles enough to allow of any nameless horrors. To which add the threat, that men will fight hard for three hundred millions' worth of property in human flesh. They will not fight hard at all, from the moment the question is put to them in a proper shape. They will have more sense than to fire a musket after they have once been placed in the position of defeated rebels, and have so generous an offer made them as the restoration of their estates, on condition of working them in the cheaper way.

In connection with this is enclosed a copy of a letter to my old constituents, but who ejected me on the first opportunity as unfriendly to what they believed their commercial interests. The date makes it unlikely that it should have met the eyes of friends in America before; and it points to what is made the pith of the question here.

That the professing friends of the anti-slavery cause in England should have made so poor a figure, is matter not only of regret but of surprise. They are in the hands of a lord or two, who are not up to the march of republican vigor. Time will show who were the people with heads upon their shoulders.

Yours, very sincerely, T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, London, Oct. 26, 1861.

IS THE WORK DONE BY FREEMEN CHEAPER THAN THAT PERFORMED BY SLAVES?

From The Bradford [Eng.] Advertiser of Feb. 23d, 1861.

IT is eighty-five years since Adam Smith wrote, "It appears accordingly, from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves. It is found to do so even at Boston, New York and Philadelphia, where the wages of common labor are so very high."—*Wealth of Nations*, I. viii.

So wrote Adam Smith; and all intelligent men know that the odds are greatly in favor of anything Adam Smith wrote being true.

Supposing, then, this to be true, it is important to scrutinize its bearing on the question which now agitates America, and in which the people of England have the interest a man would have, if he heard that his descendants or relations were setting up the experiment of how a community would get on which determined to call evil good, and read all the laws of human society backwards like the witches of our forefathers.

Supposing, as before, Adam Smith to be right—what is the exact amount of the pecuniary wrong which would be inflicted by society's enforcing the cheaper way, in the exercise of the right of self-defence which every society has to quash a source of public danger and disgrace?

The case has before been paralleled with that of the reported resolution of the legislature in early days in Ireland, when it prohibited the working of horses by the tail. Which it did, as being not only cruel, but incurring an assured public loss, inasmuch as horses' tails were soon pulled out, and horses with unworkable tails fell greatly in value, so that on the whole the harness was a public gain.

A host of complainants may be imagined, exclaiming, that they are injured in their natural rights. That the horse is *theirs*, and therefore they are entitled to work him by the tail, or by any other part of the body if it pleased them so to exercise the rights of property. With due civility, the cruelty comes under another head. The question just now is of what claim for pecuniary damage they can set up, on being made to take the cheaper way?

One only is imaginable. An owner might say that he had so many scores of horses, all young and full of tail, and if the law passes, their value in the market will be levelled with that of horses with scrubby tails, and he ought at all events to be paid the difference. Suppose he wants to *realize*; which he can do the day before the intention of the legislature is known, but not the day after. Ought he not to be allowed to realize?

The answer is, that if the change is clearly profitable to those who are to continue business, the claim of those who say they want to realize and leave off, is not one which would ever be listened to, or allowed to interfere with the enforcement of the public gain. If the general owner says, "I have purchased so many hundred-weights of horse-flesh or of man-flesh, with a view to working it in a certain way, and I am a wronged man if I am not paid the sum I laid out, and allowed to work in the more profitable way after all," he is but a common cheat and swindler, and should be put down in the ways for such cases made and provided.

To say, "If I could go on the cheaper way, and be paid for my flesh besides, I should like it better," is no more than might be said by every defender of a public wrong. All who stand in the way of a public benefit, would like to be paid for it and reap the benefit besides. But there are two parties to a game of that kind.

The slave-owner says, "I paid five hundred dollars for the man, on condition that I should have his services during his natural life, finding him provender during the same." The honest side says, "You shall have another man as good, who shall serve you *at less expense than the provender*;" for *there* is the pinch of the question. Where, then, are you a pecuniary loser? "So," say you, "my previous payment of five hundred dollars is to go for nothing!" Yes; on the same principle as if you had paid money for a bad machine, and then were offered a better, which did the same work *at less cost from day to day* than the old one. It is plain enough what the point is, on which the whole depends. It is on establishing, that exclusively of anything that may have been thrown away on the purchase of the old machine, the new one offered in exchange for it is from this day and hour the more profitable of the two.

Contests of this kind often solve themselves more quietly than was expected. No man who is in the wrong is half as valiant as he thinks he is. Crime is always blustering till it provokes the knock-down argument. The slave-owners have declared war, not against facts, but against possible facts. They have hoisted the black flag, because honest men had got a majority in an election. If they "rile" the old Puritan blood above a certain point, the result will be that the Puritan will go in for not leaving "a bone or a rag" of slavery throughout the land, as the author of the "Holy War" deals with his army of "Doubters." If he is provoked to set about it, he will be to blame if he does the Lord's work slackly, or leaves it to do again. A strong hand and a steady hand will bid the evil cease, and the Southerners will end by being only too glad to be saved from themselves. Emancipation will be begun on a safe scale in some consenting State; and so the bladder will burst. Universal man, with exception of the felonry, will be found shouting in the train; or if a feeble diversion is attempted by those who cry "Cotton, cotton!" as erst was "Rent, rent, rent!" it will end in showing what poor hands at politics are men whose brains are in their money-bags. There is a mixture of horror and ridicule about the whole. What is the use of men prating of physical resistance, when they eat and drink on a charged mine which any John Brown with a portfire would explode? And it is wonderful how Providence sometimes chooses the despised things of the world to work its will. The Southern slaveholder has been only a butt for ridicule in England, from the time that a great comedian represented him as saying, "Ain't this a land of liber-*tye*—where every man *may wallop his own nigger?*" It was never got over. May not the "poor player" be sitting among those, who, though not within the odor of conventional sanctity, were "justified by works?"

Yours, sincerely, T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, Feb. 21, 1861.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

WHAT ITS FRIENDS THINK OF IT.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

YOUR readers will have noticed, in a late number of your paper, a list of contributions, acknowledged by the Executive Committee, in aid of The Standard. In receiving those donations the Committee also received some most encouraging words of approval of The Standard, and various testimonies to the high estimation in which it is held by those who know it best; testimonies of such value, in behalf of the paper, and of the cause which it represents, that it has seemed due to all parties concerned that some of them, at least, should be published. The following extracts, therefore, have been made, and the Committee will feel obliged to you if you will make room for them in the columns of The Standard. The tribute they afford to your own assiduous and anxious labors to make The Standard what it is, is well deserved, and we are sure will be prized by you.

The Committee take this opportunity again to assure all friends of the Cause that the necessities of the Society, and especially in regard to the support of The Standard, *are still urgent*. Some have responded to the call, promptly and generously. As yet, the subscriptions do not reach half the sum absolutely necesary for the current year. We hope to hear from very many more, and with such effective aid as their means, united to their estimate of the importance of the work, enable them to contribute.

For the Executive Committee, SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

From Hon. Gerrit Smith.

It would be a sad thing to have The Standard stop. The friends of Freedom must not suffer it to stop. The war brings new burdens and embarrassments upon myself. But I enclose the within draft for $25 toward keeping The Standard a going.

From M. Deponai, of Ulster Co., N. Y.

In spite of "hard times," I enclose a contribution, as I can ill afford to have The Standard discontinued, until more of its spirit has entered the heart of the nation.

From Hon. Neal Dow, Portland, Me.

It is a shame that the anti slavery men of the country do not give that able paper—The Standard—a liberal support by subscriptions; but it would be a disgrace to us all if it should now fall for want of means.

Please accept the enclosed.

From S. E. Sewall, Esq., Boston.

I trust The Standard will not be stopped. I enclose my check to aid in continuance, and I wish the sum was larger.

From Geo. L. Stearns, Esq., of Medford, Mass.

My wife and I most cheerfully aid to keep The Standard afloat. The suspension of your publications would be a national loss at this time.

From Mrs. M. M. Brooks, Concord, Mass.

I should regret exceedingly to lose The Standard. I consider it the most able paper published in this country.

From Hon. Francis Gillette, Hartford, Ct.

I am very sorry to hear that the condition of that excellent paper—The Standard—is precarious, and extra help is needed to continue it. But, then, I suppose everything must suffer under the terrible judgments which are falling upon our guilty land. Not even a paper that has been so faithful and true as The Standard, it seems, can be exempted.

I shall try to do something for it on some well-devised plan, although, as the times are in pecuniary affairs, I am not able to contribute half as much as my appreciation of the paper and my cordial good wishes would prompt me to.

Certainly we cannot yet safely let our old, radical and valiant organs go down. They *must live*, and continue to cry aloud, and ring their trumpet-notes out over the din of battle and the rivers of blood.

From Samuel G. Howe, Esq., Boston.

In reply to your call for The Standard, I enclose my contribution; if it is not my share, send for more.

From Mrs. Ann Haslam, Penningtonville, Pa.

I pray God that The Standard may not sink; there are few privations which would be equal to my losing that ever-welcome visitor.

From Rev. Isaac Price, Schuylkill, Pa.

The Anti-Slavery Standard must be sustained. It is the best, most reliable and faithful anti-slavery (and literary) paper received at this office; and fills the place it professes to fill without a flaw. It is all-important it should be sustained.

From H. W. Carter, Esq., Athol, Mass.

I appreciate the character and importance of The Standard, and never, in my judgment, was it conducted with greater ability—never was its tone firmer or more elevated—never was it doing a more needful or potent work. It must not be allowed to stop. It must go on pouring its leaven into the heated and moving mass, and do its best to mould it to the most perfect form, before it is hardened and crusted over by the selfish schemes of petty politicians.

From Reuben Winslow, Esq.

Mr. McKim, the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Society, writes:

"Reuben Winslow, Esq., of Elk County, Pa., a veteran in the cause and a most estimable man, was in the office the other day, and expressed much anxiety lest, from want of appreciation of its importance, our Society would let The Standard go down. 'This,' he said, 'I should regard as a great misfortune, both to the cause and to myself. It is the very best paper I ever took in my life. When you go to the West Chester meeting tell them, for Heaven's sake, don't let The Standard be given up. I had intended to give your Society something worth while at this time, but it is out of my power. I have met with sudden and heavy losses, and I have debts which I must discharge. Here is a trifle (handing me $20); it is nothing; but I will try and do better the next time I come to the city. I could not give you this if I did not regard my obligation to the cause in the light of a debt. I owe The Standard a debt which I shall never be able to pay. *It is the very best paper I ever read. For Heaven's sake, don't let it go down!*'"

From Mrs. R. W. Lambdin, Tarrytown, N. Y.

I send enclosed the "widow's mite" for the extra effort to support The Standard. I would like to increase the amount a thousand fold, if it were in my power. I can only pray that He who is the rightful owner of all the "silver and gold" may prosper the good cause in which we are engaged, till every human being in our country shall enjoy the blessing of liberty.

From Lydia P. Mott.

SKANEATELES, 9th mo., 5th, 1861.

TO W. L. GARRISON, W. PHILLIPS, Esq. and S. MAY, JR.:

ESTEEMED FRIENDS: I have just received your printed circular of the 1st inst., on behalf of The Anti-Slavery Standard, and I trust that I scarcely need to assure you that my warmest sympathies have, during a long life, been actively enlisted in the great and glorious cause, whose Standard you have so long and nobly unfurled and upheld; but my days of active exertion and usefulness are over. Now, in my 89th year, and for several years past, rendered helpless by the bodily infirmities incident to old age, and withal reduced to poverty in my declining years, I can only assure you of my unabated *zeal* in behalf of our righteous cause, and congratulate you on the *possibility*—for as yet there scarcely appears a *probability*—that our haughty Southrons, like Pharaoh of old, may be compelled by the various *Plagues* they will have to endure, "to let the oppressed go free." In the meantime, I would earnestly exhort you, and all the friends of the poor slaves, to gird on your armor, and continue manfully to fight the good fight, assured that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and that in the results of the often-mysterious dispensations of his Providence, "*He doeth all things well.*"

With sentiments of warm personal regard towards you individually, and as the noble representatives of our holy cause, I remain your aged friend,

LYDIA P. MOTT.

From Rev. Samuel J. May.

There is none of my weekly visitors that I prize so highly, except *The Liberator*—and that is as welcome to me because it is an older, not a truer or more agreeable friend. I cannot bear the thought of stopping The Standard.

The New York Courier.

[We take the occasion afforded by the publication of the foregoing extracts from private letters to put on record what was recently said of this paper by *The New York Courier*, a literary and news journal of large circulation.]

"One of our most ably edited and uniformly well-written journals is The New York Anti-Slavery Standard. Before the great rebellion, The Standard was a tabooed paper, except in exclusively 'abolition' circles; but now The Standard may be read and quoted by anybody without loss of character or business. It occupies about the same position on the subject of slavery that is filled by Daniel S. Dickinson, who heads the People's Union Ticket in this State. If consistency is a jewel, The Standard may be regarded as a brilliant of the first water among American journals. But, what we desire specially to say in relation to this old antagonist of slavery is, that it has a better Washington correspondent than any other of our city papers, either daily or weekly, and his letters are specially valuable, as they give us Washington facts which no other correspondent has the courage, or rather is permitted to tell. It is not altogether fair to judge of a correspondent's ability by his letters which appear in our daily papers, for they have to be adapted to the caprices of the editor in charge. The correspondent of The Standard, for example, is also correspondent of two other city papers, but his letters in The Standard are altogether different from those he publishes in the other journals. In his last letter, for example, he lets a whole brood of Washington cats out of the bag about Fremont and the Blairs.

"Capital correspondents, out-spoken, acute, intelligent and earnest-read letters to The Standard from Boston, Philadelphia, London, Dublin, and other great centres of civilization."

[We embrace this opportunity to say that we believe our readers generally set a high value upon the letters of our Washington correspondent, and that we heartily concur in their judgment.—*Ed.*

THE APPEAL.

What! let our STANDARD droop and fall? Nay, friends
This may not be; 'tis of more stirring worth
Than the old flag fluttering o'er all the North—
The constellation he who loves, defends.
The evil breath which the "Star-Spangled" rends
Touches but symbol; while the starry birth
Our STANDARD claims is not of this low earth,
But a broad galaxy—from which descends
Light that surrounds a world. Let us rise, then,
En masse, to this flag-raising! Lift it high,
That it may pour its rays on hosts of men,
Dazzling and pure, from God's own pearly sky,
Till it shall point the millions to the man,
To lead where no unaided mortal can.

Milney, 1861. A. P. C.

SOLDIERS DON'T WANT TO BE SLAVE-CATCHERS.

COUDERSPORT, Potter Co., Pa., Oct. 28, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE freedom-loving citizens of this County have promptly furnished more than their quota of an army of five hundred thousand for the purpose of suppressing the slaveholders' rebellion. But they feel outraged at the orders issued by several officers, commanding soldiers to aid in returning fugitive slaves.

As we were about to send out our fourth Company, we felt that it was a fitting time to give expression to this feeling, which is embodied in the resolutions which I herewith send you.

Captain Jones's Company of about 90 men all sprang to their feet in favor of the resolutions, and I have no doubt much stronger resolutions would have been as unanimously adopted.

Yours, for a Free Nation, JNO. S. MANN.

PROTEST AGAINST SLAVE-CATCHING BY SOLDIERS.

At the close of religious services in Coudersport, on Sunday, Oct. 20, 1861, Capt. Jones's Rifle Company, made up of volunteers from nearly every township in the County of Potter, State of Pennsylvania, with their friends, being present, the following resolutions were adopted, only two persons voting against them:

Resolved, That we cheerfully send forth our husbands, brothers and sons to aid in crushing this wicked rebellion; but while doing so, we protest that it is no part of the duty of the soldier to aid in returning fugitive slaves, and we earnestly implore the Governor of Pennsylvania to make immediate remonstrance against any soldiers from this State being ordered to engage in so revolting a work.

Resolved, That Captain Jones be requested to present the above resolution to his Excellency Andrew G. Curtin, and respectfully ask him to transmit the same to the President of the United States.

DR. CHEEVER, on Sunday evening last, delivered another powerful anti-slavery discourse to a crowded auditory, showing the futility and absurdity of the objections so frequently urged against emancipation under the War Power, and proving by irrefragible arguments that the measure, once adopted by the government, would effectually crush the Rebellion and bring peace and prosperity in its train. At the close of the services, Dexter Fairbank, Esq., was called to the chair, and a Committee, consisting of Rev. M. French, Dr. H. A. Hartt, Rev. William Goodell, Edward Gilbert and Dexter Fairbank, was appointed for the purpose of publishing this and other discourses of Dr. Cheever; in the hope of thereby arousing the people and the government to the performance of the great duty of the hour. The Committee, we understand, have already begun their work with a zeal commensurate with the importance of the issues involved.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11, 1861.

THERE are men in Washington who complain of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and its course respecting the war. This shows that THE STANDARD has made itself felt even in this reckless city of politicians. Some of these critics—these defenders of the Administration in whatever it does—are called Republicans. One of these fellows, who is now fierce in his denunciations of THE STANDARD, *Independent*, and other journals, was last spring, while seeking an office, running over with anti-slavery zeal, for he needed the influence of certain anti-slavery members of Congress to get his office. Having got his place, he now turns round and sneers at the men who aided him and the anti slavery Republicans. Is there anybody so blind as not to see why he dares to do this? It is because *he* thinks that Mr. Lincoln and a majority of his Cabinet are not anti-slavery. I give this as a sample of a thousand cases in the city of Washington. Men who, one year ago, in election times, were very good anti-slavery Republicans, now are ashamed of their principles. But at the same time it is true that a majority of all independent men, whether in or out of office, whether Democrats or Republicans, favor an emancipation policy. I have been astonished to find men here, whom I had formerly known as pro-slavery men, boiling over with indignation at the removal of Fremont and the cautious policy of the government on the slavery question.

The class of old pro-slavery men now out of office are fast coming round to respectable principles, while some of the campaign Republicans, having got office, and imagining that the Administration is pro-slavery, are now treading upon, and swearing at the very principles which raised Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency.

Some of the Republicans here have got strange ideas of the duties of a correspondent, and of a Republican. The duty of a Republican, according to these political moralists, is to support the Administration through thick and thin, if it be called a Republican Administration; and to condemn its every act should it be a Democratic Administration. A newspaper correspondent should never criticize his own party or party men. This is a favorite theory among Washington politicians, and the question is often asked, "Why do you attack your own Administration—the men you helped to raise to power?" The reply should be—because a man has a right to insist that his own friends be honest, just and pure. I am no enemy of the Administration because I criticise its pro-slavery acts, but rather a friend. It deserves chastisement for its conduct in this respect, and were it not for two or three such men as Chase and Welles in it, it should receive the condemnation of all virtuous men. Mr. Chase alone is enough to hold up

Chronicles of the War.

SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL EXPEDITION.

PANIC IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

GREAT STAMPEDE OF SLAVES.

Wednesday, Nov. 13.—At length, after many days of anxious suspense, we have reliable intelligence from the Naval Expedition lately sent to the South by the government at Washington. The news will carry joy throughout the North. We give below the material portion of the dispatches conveying the glorious news.

Special Dispatch to The New York Tribune.

FORTRESS MONROE, Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861.
Via BALTIMORE, Nov. 13.

THE steamer Bienville, Capt. Steedman, has arrived from the Fleet, with the particulars of another splendid achievement and most important victory over the rebels. After encountering one of the most terrific gales within the recollection of the oldest navigators, the expedition, with the exception of the Union and the Oceola, which went ashore on the coast of North Carolina, and the Governor, which went down after all had been taken off, and the ferry-boats, arrived off Port Royal on Sunday, Nov. 3.

The next day a reconnoissance was made to ascertain the strength and position of the rebel works. They were found to be extensive fortifications. Fort Walker on Hilton Head and Fort Beauregard on Bay Point, situated on opposite sides of the harbor, at a distance of about two and a-half miles in the direction of North-west and South-east. Fort Walker had 23 and Fort Beauregard 18 guns, all of the finest description, ranging from 10-inch rifled to 42 pounders. The forts were earthworks constructed with great engineering skill and expense, and had all the modern appliances of regular works. They were protected on all sides, and supposed to be wholly impregnable. The rebel force was about 3,000, and they were in complete readiness.

The next day was too windy for operations, but on Thursday, the 7th, at 9½ a. m., the entire fleet formed in two grand lines for the fight. The Wabash led, the Bienville flanking the movement, which was in a circle, first delivering the broadsides into Fort Beauregard on the North-west, and, as the fleet came round, raking Fort Walker on the South-west. Both forts responded vigorously. The Pawnee and Mohican having for the time being got aground, were considerably damaged. The bombardment and the resistance of the forts was kept up between four and five hours, when the rebel flag on Fort Walker came down.

Immediately a detachment of sailors and marines prepared to land. On entering the fort it was found entirely deserted. The flight had been sudden and precipitate. Every description of property was left behind, including important papers, records, letters, and books disclosing much highly valuable information. It was evident that women and even children had just left, as the clothing of both was found.

Valuable swords and considerable money were found. Between thirty and forty dead bodies were found, and the loss of the rebels is supposed to have been about 200; on our side, but 8. Gen. Drayton commanded at Fort Walker and Col. Elliott at Fort Beauregard. The stars and stripes were hoisted, and the fort garrisoned. The next morning Fort Beauregard was taken possession of. The forces of Gen. Sherman having landed, both forts were turned over to the navy, to whom the capture of the coast properly belongs.

The late Com. Tatnall commanded one gun-boat, but took good care to keep out of rifled range, and to make good his flight. The rebels retired across Skull Creek to a village about twenty-five miles in the interior, where it is supposed they intend to make a stand.

The day after the victory, three gun-boats, under Capt. Ammon, visited Beaufort. The village was entirely deserted, but a single white man being found in it, and he was drunk. The negroes had already begun to pillage and destroy. Capt. Ammon took from the Post-office its contents. The white population generally fled to Charleston by small steamers, by the inside route. The negroes came into Gen. Sherman's camp in large numbers, giving information, and it is supposed that by this time he has several hundred, perhaps thousands, of laborers.

The fall of the forts created the wildest excitement and consternation throughout the surrounding country. In Savannah there was a panic, and it is believed that its capture would be an easy matter. It is understood that Gen. Sherman will improve the defences of his position before making any forward movement.

In the forts was a large supply of ammunition and stores of the very best description. The works were of a very complete character, and it was not dreamed that they could be taken. In the harbor, large enough for the navies of the world, from 25 to 27 feet of water is found.

Commodore Dupont will immediately survey it, place buoys and erect lights, and the position will be made a permanent base of operations.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

Capt. Steedman comes as bearer of dispatches, and Capt. Wyman of the Pawnee comes on sick leave. They speak in warm terms of the extraordinary gallantry of the entire fleet. Every one entered the fight sharing the determination of flag-officer Dupont, that the forts should be silenced, though it cost the entire fleet.

The fleet stood within between 800 add 1,000 feet of the forts, used five-second fuses, and poured shells into the forts at the rate of two thousand an hour. Not a single shell sent by the rebels burst in a ship.

The Wabash was struck several times, as was most of the fleet, but every ship was in a fighting condition when the rebels took to their heels. The surgeon of Fort Walker was killed. At Charleston the next day thirteen minute guns were fired, indicative of the burial of a Brigadier-General.

There were light batteries on each side of the harbor below the forts, to prevent the landing of troops, which were also taken and Capt. Steedman has two of the guns, besides several flags, as trophies for Washington. So great was the confidence of the rebels in their fortifications, that in their flight they left cart-loads of private stores, liquors, fine bedding, and other articles indicative of an intended long stay, all of which fell into our hands.

A sword worth five hundred dollars, about one thousand stand of arms, and a large quantity of accoutrements, were left behind.

There were but a few prisoners taken, so rapid was the flight. One of them states that the rebels supposed that the forts would sink the ships certainly when they attempted to pass up, but when the fleet had performed the circuit three times, and was about to go round a fourth, not a ship showing signs of sinking, a panic arose, the flag was struck, and every man took to his heels.

The gale which the fleet encountered was one of the fiercest ever experienced by the oldest navigators, who consider it little less than a miracle that one half of the ships were not lost. The Winfield Scott was for some time supposed to be in a sinking condition, and at great risk the Beinville took a part of her troops. Not one of the boats relied on to light the ships has arrived, having put back or been lost. The Governor went down within a few minutes after her men were taken off. Seven marines were lost.

All reports that Gen. Sherman had advanced, seized the railroad, or made a demonstration against Charleston are erroneous. He only occupies the forts. All the letters and papers, both public and private, order-books, and documents of all kinds, were left in their flight, and fell into our hands, affording our officers much valuable information. Among the papers was a telegram from Jeff Davis to the commander of the post, informing him of the sailing of the fleet, and that he knew their destination to be Port Royal. [Query—Who was the traitor?]

All the plantations up the river seemed to be deserted except by the *negroes, who were seen in great numbers, and who, as the boats passed, came down to the shore with bundles in their hands, as if expecting to be taken off.*

Flag officer Dupont, in his official report, says: "The negroes are wild with joy and revenge. They have been shot down, they say, like dogs, because they would not go off with their masters."

Our own loss in the affair is 8 killed and about 25 wounded, more or less severely, while the loss of the rebels was very much greater, the estimates being 120 killed and 100 wounded, a large number of their dead having been buried by our men.

When our men took possession on Bay Point they discovered a characteristic trick of the enemy, which most luckily failed to succeed. The Secession flag was hauled partly down, and the halyards were connected with an ingenious percussion-cap apparatus, so arranged that the complete hauling down of the flag would explode the cap, which was intended to ignite a train of powder connecting with the powder-magazine. By some unforeseen accident, a quantity of sand was thrown over part of the train of powder, so that, though the cap exploded and fired a part of the powder, and blew up a neighboring house, it did not communicate with the magazine, and little harm was done.

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

After landing and taking possession of the forts, Gen. Sherman issued the following proclamation:

"*To the People of South Carolina:*

"In obedience to the orders of the President of these United States of America, I have landed on your shores with a small force of National troops. The dictates of a duty which, under the Constitution, I owe to a great sovereign State and to a proud and hospitable people, among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come among you with no feelings of personal animosity; no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property or interfere with any of your lawful laws, rights, or your social and local institutions; beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to may render unavoidable.

"Citizens of South Carolina: The civilized world stands appalled at the course you are pursuing!—appalled at the crime you are committing against your own mother—the best, the most enlightened, and heretofore the most prosperous of nations. You are in a state of active rebellion against the laws of your country. You have lawlessly seized upon the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to our common country, and within your borders, with this property, you are in arms and waging a ruthless war against your constitutional government, and thus threatening the existence of a government which you are bound by the terms of the solemn compact to live under and faithfully support. In doing this you are not only undermining and preparing the way for totally ignoring your own political and social existence, but you are threatening the civilized world with the odious sentiment that self-government is impossible with civilized men.

"Follow-citizens: I implore you to pause and reflect upon the tenor and consequences of your acts. If the awful sacrifices made by the devastation of our property, the shedding of fraternal blood in battle, the mourning and wailing of widows and orphans throughout our land, are insufficient to deter you from further pursuing this unholy war, then ponder, I beseech you, upon the ultimate, but not less certain result which its further progress must necessarily and naturally entail upon your once happy and prosperous State. Indeed, can you pursue this fratricidal war, and continue to imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the confederacy of a great people, a confederacy established by your own hands, in order to set up, were it possible, an independent government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity, or quietness.

"Carolinians: We have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State; those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power, but be not deceived; the obligation of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities is paramount to all others. If, in the performance of this duty, other minor but important obligations should be in any way neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case, because rights dependent on the laws of the State must be necessarily subordinate to military exigencies, created by insurrection and rebellion.

"T. W. SHERMAN, Brig.-Gen. Commanding.
"Headquarters, Port Royal, S. C., Nov. 8, 1861."

Gen. Fremont in St. Louis.

The reception of Gen. Fremont, his staff and body-guard, in St. Louis, on the evening of the 8th inst., after being relieved of his command, was a perfect ovation. They had met with the most enthusiastic salutations along the entire route from Springfield to St. Louis, and on reaching the city they found one of the largest assemblages gathered to greet them ever witnessed there. Gen. Fremont immediately proceeded to his headquarters, and soon after a procession bearing torches, headed by music and surrounded by an immense concourse of citizens, was put in motion. Arriving at the headquarters, the members of the Committee appointed to deliver an address to Gen. Fremont detached themselves from the procession to perform the duty assigned them. As they entered the mansion, they were ushered into one of the large front rooms, and directly after the General made his appearance. Mr. John C. Vogel then, as Chairman of the Committee, stepped forward and read the following address:

THE ADDRESS.

Major-Gen. JOHN C. FREMONT—*Sir:* We are instructed by the citizens of St. Louis to welcome you to our city, and perform the duty imposed upon us with mingled feelings of sorrow and pleasure. While we deeply regret the occasion of your presence among us, we rejoice in the unmistakable manifestation of the unflagging sympathy of the people. They have witnessed with astonishment and indignation the event, unprecedented in history, of your removal from the command, while in active pursuit of the enemy, and on the very eve of reaping the fruits of your incessant and successful labors. The true causes which led to your recall are well understood and appreciated. You have risen too fast in popular favor. The policy announced in your proclamation, although hailed by the people as a political and military necessity, furnished your ambitious rivals and enemies with a welcome weapon for your intended destruction.

The harbingers of truth will ever be crucified by the Pharisees.

We cannot be deceived by shallow and flimsy pretexts, by unfounded and slanderous reports.

We entertain no doubt of your ability to speedily confound and silence your traducers. The day of reckoning is not far distant, and the people will take care that the schemes of your opponents shall in the end be signally defeated.

As loyal citizens, we follow your example in yielding due obedience to the edicts of the powers that be.

With you we join in the hope that the enthusiasm with which you have imbued the army created by, and devoted to you, may lead them to victory, even in the absence of their legitimate leader. Should we meet with reverses, no fault will be charged upon you; should victory perch on our banners, the wreath of triumph will be placed on your brow by the verdict of the country.

Permit us to assure you that, when the smoke of battle shall have passed away, and peace shall be restored to us, an appeal to the people from the action of its servants will be triumphantly sustained.

In pursuance of our instructions, we take pleasure in presenting to you a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted by the citizens of St. Louis, in mass-meeting assembled.

GEN. FREMONT'S REPLY.

Gen. Fremont, during the reading of the address and resolutions, apparently found it difficult to restrain his emotions, and when he first commenced to respond his voice was quite tremulous. His response was as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I wish to say to you that your kind and affectionate—I may even say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions. I felt all day as we passed through the country—I feel, emphatically, to-night—that the faithful servant of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause, will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger.

Since I left you, a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained on my defenceless head—defenceless, because my face was turned to the public enemy. What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defense with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me, I will say nothing now. You do not require it, and to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross incompetency and a weak and aimless administration, to all of these I will adopt your address and the shouts of the grand multitude assembled below as my answer. And for this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation, so valuable and grateful to me in my actual position.

I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all these charges more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defense.

After the General had delivered the above response, the Committee gathered about him, and he shook hands with each member thereof in the most cordial manner.

In the meantime, the crowd outside had begun to grow impatient, and in obedience to the tumultuous cries of the multitude, the General presented himself upon the portico. His appearance was the signal for a tremendous outburst of applause, which he acknowledged by bowing.

The high wind which prevailed rendered it impossible for him to address the crowd, and there was no very urgent demand for him to do so. Indeed, all the crowd seemed to desire was to obtain a glimpse of their favorite, and nearly everybody was gratified in this respect. A blazing torch was held near him, so that his features could be distinctly discerned by the crowd, and as he gazed upon the sea of upturned faces, and comprehended the vastness thereof, and as he saw the enthusiasm which was everywhere manifested, his keen, piercing black eyes seemed to give utterance to the heartfelt gratitude which the ovation seemed to awaken in his breast. Turning to a gentleman standing near by, he remarked:

"I take this as a record of my administration. This is, perhaps, but a page of the work, but it says a great deal, and, with the illuminated binding which is here offered, I may well be proud of the work itself."

Having remained in view of the vast assemblage for more than ten minutes, he reentered the headquarters, and directly after the crowd began to disengage itself and disperse, the sound of their departing footsteps mingling with the echoes of their enthusiastic cheers.

Hard Battle at Belmont, Mo.

A force of 3,500 men, under Gen. Grant, was, one day last week, sent from Cairo and Bird's Point to attack a small garrison of rebels at Belmont, Mo., nearly opposite to Columbus, Ky., the rebel headquarters. In order that the object might be effected with the least possible expediture of blood, and without precipitating a general battle, the movement was kept or attempted to be kept a profound secret. But the result proves that there were traitors in camp, who availed themselves of the earliest possible information, and not unlikely of full details of the expedition, which were transmitted without delay to the rebels in ample time for them to complete perfect preparations for a defence. The Union forces advanced in the face of a deadly fire, and succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in driving the enemy from his encampment. The stars and stripes were raised, and the rebel camps were fired, and, with all their supplies, ammunition, baggage, etc., totally destroyed. It was soon discovered, however, that large reenforcements of the enemy were moving from Columbus, and Gen. Grant was obliged to make a rapid retreat, fighting all the way to the river. Every regiment of Federal troops suffered more or less severely in their return march, but the general opinion prevails that the rebels suffered far greater losses than we. Wherever they made a stand we put them to flight, and, although we lost many brave men, either killed, wounded or taken prisoners, we made at least two of their men bite the dust for every one that fell from our ranks. Our regiments all reached their boats, though with considerably thinned ranks. We also brought away, as near as can be ascertained, two hundred and seventy-five prisoners, two cannon and a quantity of muskets, small arms, equipments, blankets, etc. The best information places our loss at from 300 to 500. I think 350 will cover it. The rebel loss must be greater than ours. Among their killed was Col. John V. Wright, of the Fifteenth Tennessee Regiment, formerly Member of Congress from that State.

Bloody Scenes at Guyandotte, Va.

On Sunday night a body of Rebel cavalry, 800 in number, attacked 150 Union troops at Guyandotte, Va., on the Ohio river, 36 miles below Gallipolis, 223 miles below Wheeling, and 360 west by north of Richmond.

It appears that the inhabitants of the accursed town entered into a conspiracy with the Rebels outside to destroy the 250 or 300 Union troops there placed. Accordingly they proffered to our men kindly hospitalities, and invited them on a certain night to their houses. Having them thus at their tables, they hung out signals to the Rebel cavalry, marking every house where were any Union soldiers. The Rebels rushed into the town, entered the houses, and massacred their victims in cold blood, the treacherous entertainers—men, women, and, incredible as it seems, children even—aiding in the carnage. Col. Ziegler came to the rescue of his comrades too late to save them, but he laid the town in ashes. Full particulars have not yet reached us, and if the intelligence yet to come shall prove this story a lie, all will rejoice; we fear, however, that it is too dismally true.

Victory in Kentucky.

CINCINNATI, Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861.

Gen. Nelson met the Rebels under Gen. Williams at Pikeville, Pike County, Ky., on Friday last, and gained a glorious victory. Col. Luke Moore attacked the Rebels in the rear with 3,800 men, while Col Harris of the 2d Ohio Regiment, with 600 men, attacked them in the front. Col. Harris falling back, and Col. Moore pressing forward, until the enemy were brought into the midst of Gen. Nelson's brigade, when our forces pressed them on all sides, killing 400 of them, and taking 1,000 prisoners. The balance scattered in all directions. The Federal loss is small. The battle lasted Friday and Saturday, and the victory was complete. The Rebel Generals Williams and Howes are among the prisoners.

"SABLE CLOUDS."

REFUGEES ON THE POTOMAC.—Twenty-three Virginia negroes took refuge on board the steamer Island Belle in the Potomac last week.

A CONTRABAND FROM BULL RUN.—A negro who escaped from Bull Run the day previous, came within our lines at Vienna Oct. 30. The fellow ran away from his master, an officer in a South Carolina regiment, to avoid a flogging.

NEGRO-CATCHING.—Applications for assistance in catching and restoring negroes are made daily at the Provost Court in Alexandria, but Judge Freese refuses to consider this business as any part of the duties of his office. —*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

BRIG.-GEN. KELLEY continues to play the slave-catcher in Western Virginia. Quite a large number of contrabands have tumbled into Romney since he took possession, expecting to be set free, but the General has invariably put them in confinement, to be reclaimed by their masters. Shame on him.

A FUGITIVE ASKING PROTECTION.—*Washington, Nov.* 10.—A slave belonging to a rebel was sent from beyond our pickets to Alexandria a few day ago. While there he informed Judge Freese that he was told before leaving home that it was his master's intention to sell him to a Southern planter. He sought protection. Judge Freese gave him a letter addressed to our pickets to the effect that they had no right to pass any person beyond our outposts. The slave is thereby detained in Alexandria.—*Cor. Tribune.*

THE SLAVES A SOURCE OF DISTRESS.—*Louisville, Oct.* 29.—A gentleman from New Orleans succeeded in reaching this city yesterday, or on Sunday, in spite of Confederate precautions. He reports the most desperate condition of affairs in the region of King Cotton. All the necessaries of life are advancing rapidly in price; and the fact stares the planters in the face that their negroes, whom they have set up as the essential feature of well-organized society, will this winter be the main source of bitter distress. With bacon already 25 cents per pound, and pork $50 per barrel, and such scarcity of salt that the Fall supply will work no reduction, even for a season, they will find these valuable chattels impoverishing drafts upon their pockets. There will be few fat, saucy "niggers" left at the opening of the next planting season, unless the government relieve them from famine by its progress into the country. And their straits in clothing will exceed, if possible, those of food. With prices advancing, many even of the wealthy have not $5 in currency to buy with.—*Tribune.*

A RIGHTEOUS DECISION.—A negro woman belonging to a citizen of Alexandria, early in the rebellion, was imprisoned by her master in the city jail on suspicion of an intention to run away, which suspicion was founded upon the fact that she had, on several occasions, furnished meals to some of our soldiers from her master's table. A short time ago her mistress applied to the Provost Court for leave to take her from jail, which was granted. On the night of her release, her master took her to the garret of his house, gagged and bound her, and whipped her furiously, then locked her in. During the night she escaped by the window, and in the morning made complaint to Judge Freese. He summoned her master, who is one of the F. F. Vs., and ordered him to be confined in jail. His wife, with tears in her eyes, applied to Gen. Montgomery for relief, and he arrested the order for imprisonment. The question was taken to the War Department, and Assistant-Secretary Scott, who is as wise as he is able, in deciding it, said he felt no disposition to meddle with the action of the Provost Court in any of its decisions, but especially in this one, because it seemed in his opinion to be eminently just and proper.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

CONTRABANDS AT FORTRESS MONROE.—[*General Orders, No.* 34].—*Headquarters Department of Virginia, Nov.* 1, 1861.—The following pay and allowances will constitute the valuation of the labor of the contrabands at work in the engineer, ordnance, quartermaster, commissary and medical departments at this point, to be paid as hereinafter mentioned:

Class 1. Negro men over eighteen years of age, and able bodied, $10 per month, one ration and the necessary amount of clothing.

Class 2. Negro boys from twelve to eighteen years of age, and sickly and infirm negro men, $5 per month, one ration and the necessary amount of clothing.

The Quartermaster will furnish all the clothing. The department employing these men will furnish the subsistence specified above; and as an incentive to good behavior (to be withheld at the discretion of the chiefs of the departments respectively) each individual of the first class will receive $2 per month and each individual of the second class $1 per month for their own use. The remainder of the money valuation of their labor will be turned over to the Quartermaster, who will deduct from it the cost of clothing issued to them; the balance will constitute a fund to be expended by the Quartermaster, under the direction of the commanding officer of the department, for the support of the women and children and those that are unable to work.

For any unusual amount of labor performed they may receive extra pay, varying from fifty cents to one dollar, this to be paid by the department employing them to the men themselves, and to be for their own use.

Should any man be prevented from working on account of sickness for six consecutive days, or ten days in any one month, one-half of the money valuation will be paid. For being prevented from laboring for any longer period than ten days in any month all pay and allowances cease.

By command of Major-General JOHN E. WOOL.

Fortress Monroe, Monday, Nov. 4, 1861.—No less than sixty contrabands came into the Fortress and fleet on Monday. They report that many of the troops have been withdrawn from Great Bethel, Yorktown, and the vicinity of Norfolk, but they do not know where they have gone. They were picked up in boats and canoes; one boat had 24 in it.

THE FIGHT ON SANTA ROSA—A SLAVE'S STORY.—A refugee slave, named Peter Dryson, a pure blooded negro, who was an eyewitness to the fight on Santa Rosa Island, has given a most graphic account of the affair. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"Dryson is of middle age, recently the property of a Mr. Strong of Pensacola, who had him taught the trade of mason and bricklayer, and hired him out in this capacity to work on the several fortifications which have been erected by government, at Pensacola, during the last twenty-three years. He has assisted in the building of Forts Wood, Morgan, Barrancas, Pickens, McCrea, the Redoubt, and the Navy Yard. About two months ago he heard his master say that in case of an attack by the Federal forces, the slaves were to be put in front of the rebel batteries with arms in their hands, and forced to fight. In case they refused, they were to be shot down by the rebels themselves. He and others were so maltreated and overworked that he determined to escape. So he watched for weeks a favorable opportunity, and finally, having secreted a skiff, one dark, stormy night, he and his wife got off from shore, and headed for the other side of the harbor. They had not proceeded far before they heard the guard-boats coming toward them, so they put back to shore, and quietly slipped off home. Two nights after the attempt was renewed, this time with better success, for they crossed unobserved, and were taken into the fort by Col. Brown. Dryson says that until March last copies of the Northern papers would be left about by their masters after being read, and were appropriated by the slaves and circulated privately from hand to hand, those who could read giving the items of news to the illiterate. There has been formed among them a conviction that this war is for the purpose of giving freedom to the slaves, and a general determination is expressed to desert to the Northern side and turn upon their masters whenever the chances of battle bring slaves and their supposed liberators near enough together to warrant their risking it."

SLAVE-CATCHING AT THE WEST.—*Camp Cairo, Oct.* 26.—A "contraband" came into Camp Holt, on the Kentucky shore, last night, under the following circumstances: It seems that the slaveholders, both of Kentucky and Missouri, are rapidly disposing of their negroes to Southern traders, and any one sees that if this practice is long continued there will be little cause for difficulty in these States. This negro, learning that he was sold, and that this morning he was to start for "Alabam," by the directions of a friend, came to the camp-fires of our teamsters, and, on being hailed, said he was a *Union man*, when they took him in. The friend referred to is a widow woman living in Blandville, 20 miles distant, who, on account of her principles, has suffered all sorts of insults, and has been repeatedly robbed, and is now about to be driven from her home, where she has long lived comfortably, but, with a defiant spirit, she conferred secretly with this negro, and he escaped.

Up to this date many slaves—but I do not know how many—have come to our several camps. There has been no settled policy pursued concerning them. In many cases they have been given up to their masters, though well known to be Secessionists, while, in other cases, if the slaves were young and smart, the soldiers or officers kept them for their own use, but after awhile they disappeared, I cannot tell whither. If ever there was a Gordian knot which the wit of man was bid to untie, this, concerning the whole question of slavery, is one. When one puzzles himself about it, he recalls to his mind the picture of the chariot and the uplifted sword.

I have taken pains to talk to many soldiers on this subject, and, as it is a vital point, I will briefly state what they give me as their sentiments. And I find their expressions uniform, no matter whether they voted for Lincoln, Douglas, Bell, or even Breckinridge. They say they do not want the negroes liberated among us. On this point they are emphatic and warm, and they add, "Let them stay where they are." Of course the reply is that no one North opposes this arrangement, and the real question is, "What will you soldiers do, rather than see the government broken up?" They say, without considering the difficulties, "The negroes ought to be carried out of the country," and add, "America is for white men, and not for negroes." By such replies, it is seen that their minds are not yet settled upon any solution, and they must be asked the question again. At last—and they are no more backward, I believe, than well-informed men—they come out and say that this government is worth more than all the negroes that ever did or ever will live.—*Cor. Tribune.*

THE KANSAS BOYS AND THE SLAVES.—*Springfield, Mo., Nov.* 2.—This morning I rode over into Lane's camp, and found his brave and hardy men, in spite of their severe marching, looking as if in any emergency they would prove worthy of the enviable reputation which the Kansas troops, when brought into active service, have everywhere won. They deny indignantly that they have plundered Union men, but say that everywhere along their line of march the Secessionists have suffered—a statement which everybody who knows them will readily believe. Those who believe in a rose-water war will doubtless regret this; but we who have witnessed the contest in Missouri are glad to see the men who have inaugurated and aided the rebellion taught that it costs something to be a traitor.

A great deal has been said about Lane's course in regard to slaves. He informs me that his invariable policy has been not to return, against their own wishes, a single negro, man, woman, or child, who has come within his lines. Where the master is a loyal man, he has given him a certificate of that fact, and of the loss of the negro; but no unwilling fugitive has been dragged out of the camp of the Kansas Brigade. It is said that the number of slaves who have thus been practically emancipated is about 2,000, though less than one-tenth of them now remain with the Brigade. The others seem to have wended their way to those regions where the negro has some rights which the white man is "bound to respect." You can be very sure that the rebels in the regions through which Lane have passed, who believed in the Southern idea that slavery was one of their chief elements of strength, have awakened to the fact that they are victims of misplaced confidence. Unfortunate as it is that Gen. Lane will not keep out of the ruinous personal quarrels which disgrace our leaders in Kansas, at least record it to his honor that he is not of those who hold slavery more sacred than the success of our arms—who are too timid to accept the issue which the rebels have forced upon us, and to place our cause upon a footing where it would enlist the sympathies of all men the world over, who love justice and believe in human rights.—*Cor. Tribune.*

Rolla, Mo., Nov. 11.—There had been a good deal of trouble about slaves who had escaped into Gen. Lane's and other camps, and *Gen Hunter had given owners permission to search our camps, and reclaim them if they could find them.* Shame!!

WOMEN'S PETITION.—The Milwaukee *Daily Life* publishes the following form of petition, which is circulating in some parts of Wisconsin:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

We, the Women of Wisconsin, the mothers, wives and daughters of those who go forth in their country's defence, believing that the abolition of slavery would be the means of bringing this grievous war to a speedy and honorable close, do, by our love for our country, and for those who go forth to fight its battles, as well as by our love of liberty for ourselves and for all, earnestly entreat your honorable body to enact a law proclaiming the freedom of the slaves. And we will ever pray.

We can see no objection to the plan of separate petitions for women, if the women themselves prefer it. In some neighborhoods, perhaps, it may even work better than the plan of promiscuous petitioning.

GERRIT SMITH'S SPEECH, lately delivered in this city, appears in full in our columns this week, as written out by his own hand. It is as powerful in argument as it is elevated in moral tone—as wise in its conclusions as it is felicitous in point of rhetoric. We only regret that it is not in our power to put a copy of it into every household in the land.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the Inhabitants thereof."

To the Congress of the United States:

THE undersigned, citizens of State of respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

Printed copies of the above Memorial may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and of Joel McMillan, Salem, Ohio. Persons applying to Mr. McMillan will enclose payment at the rate of $1.25 per hundred, to cover cost of paper and printing.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar.

THIS Fair will be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of December, 1861. It is the purpose of its managers to conduct it in a manner suited to the exigencies of the present times, diminishing, as far as possible, its expenses, and furnishing it with such articles as command a sale even in seasons of commercial embarrassment. We deem it necessary to remind the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Pennsylvania that an unusual effort will this year be required for the replenishment of our treasury. In seasons of pecuniary embarrassment, resulting from any cause, Anti-Slavery Societies, as all others, must suffer some diminution of their supplies: but the long-tried fidelity and zeal of the Pennsylvania Abolitionists inspires us with confidence in our appeal to them to meet an unusual demand with unusual energy.

Our thirty years' war for freedom *seems* about to culminate in victory. But many a battle has been lost by too much haste in accounting it won. Until its proclamation of liberty to the slaves proves that this nation has discovered, and is willing to acknowledge, the real cause and only true remedy for the Southern rebellion and consequent civil war, the American Abolitionists will continue to hold their solemn responsibility to the slave, and to the country. Until such proclamation shall usher in the jubilee, our work will not be done. But working as we now are, with the end almost in sight, extraordinary effort for its consummation becomes easy.

With this view of our cause, we ask our coadjutors in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware to put their hands once more to the work of conducting our Annual Fair with the energy and wisdom which the exigencies of the hour demand; not doubting that they who, through the long years of our conflict, have stood firm in heart and hope and faith, will wield their weapons faithfully, unto the end.

Sarah Pugh,	Huldah Justice,
Margaret J. Burleigh,	Anna R. Justice,
Anna M. Child,	Sarah Kenderdine,
Ellen M. Child,	Abby Kimber,
Sarah L. Child,	Martha Kimber,
Elizabeth Clendennon,	Lucretia Mott,
Maria Conklin,	Sarah A. McKim,
Agnes Crain,	Emma Parker,
Maria M. Davis,	Sarah H. Peirce,
Margaretta Forten,	Ruth Anna Peirce,
Martha A. Galvin,	Rebecca Plumly,
Lydia Gillingham,	Harriet D. Purvis,
Sarah K. Gillingham,	Mary Shaw,
Mary Grew,	Susan W. Shaw,
Margaret A. Griscom,	Annie Shoemaker,
Sarah C. Hallowell,	Martha Shoemaker,
Rebecca S. Hart,	Mary T. Stickney,
Anna M. Hopper,	Hannah L. Stickney,
Jennette Jackson,	Emily W. Taylor,
Clementina G. John,	Rosanna Thompson,
Gulielma M. Jones,	Lydia White,

Rachel Wilson.

WHAT'S IN THE WIND?—Archbishop Hughes and Thurlow Weed have gone to Europe, and it is rumored that Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio and Edward Everett are soon to follow—all, it is said, to act as the unofficial agents of the U. S. government, to counteract the operations of Jeff. Davis's representatives in England and France. There are in some quarters suspicions—ill-founded, we trust—that the Administration has on hand some scheme of compromise with the rebels, for which these men are to prepare the way. A story to this effect, founded upon private remarks said to have been uttered by Messrs. Seward and Weed, appeared in last week's *Independent*, but it has been pronounced false by Mr. Weed and is generally discredited.

NOTICE.—Members of the American Anti-Slavery Society entitled to receive the Annual Report just published will have their copies forwarded by mail upon their remitting the amount of postage (in stamps or otherwise), viz.: *fourteen cents*, to ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 221 Washington street, Boston.

Summary.

CERTAIN DEATH TO SLEEPING SOLDIERS.—Special general orders have been issued, directing that certain death in future will be visited on any soldier found sleeping on his post.

THE literature of the woman's question receives two accessions in a work "On the Influence of Women in France," by Madame Mohl, and "Thoughts on Woman and her Education," by Mrs. Dickinson.

A SPY IN OUR CAMP.—A person in citizen's dress, with a pass from Gen. McClellan's headquarters, visited all the posts of the left wing of our army on Saturday, who was recognized on his return, by a gentleman in Alexandria, as an officer in the rebel army.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

A COMPARISON.—T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, has certainly invented a new comparison. He says that it is as absurd to attempt to carry on the war without striking at slavery as it would be to storm hell without interfering with the personal comfort of Satan.—*Providence Journal.*

THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.—The promulgation by Col. Cochrane in his speech, at the serenade to Secretary Cameron, of the doctrine of the military necessity for the emancipation of the slaves in the rebel States, as our army moves Southward, commands very general attention here, and is received with hearty acquiescence. It is especially welcomed in the camps, as the solution of a question which, rarely debated by the rank and file, somewhat divides the opinions of officers.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

VERY SIMPLE SYLLOGISMS.—"That a Secessionist and an Abolitionist are on a par, I can prove by a simple syllogism. An Abolitionist is a Disunionist; a Disunionist is a Secessionist; therefore, a Secessionist is an Abolitionist."—*Senator Andrew Johnson.*

—That Senator Johnson and a donkey are on a par, I can prove by a simple syllogism. A donkey eats and drinks; Senator Johnson eats and drinks; therefore, Senator Johnson is a donkey.—*Pine and Palm.*

WOOLLEN MITTENS.—An officer from West Point, who commands one of the finest regiments in the service, suggests that woollen mittens for the soldiers will be greatly needed when the cold weather begins. Will not all who can employ themselves in this way, help to furnish 500,000 pairs? They should be knit with one finger, to allow a free use of the first finger and thumb. It is said there were more soldiers disabled in the Crimean war from frost-bitten fingers than from any other one cause. [All newspapers please copy this.]

EXODUS OF SLAVERY.—Slavery has vanished from Missouri more rapidly even than its enemies predicted. Secession has made the State too hot for the institution, and Secessionists are daily leaving the State for the South, with their slaves, to escape the very dangers they themselves madly invited and provoked. We argued, six months ago, that secession, or attempted secession in Missouri, would overthrow slavery in the State, and hurry the institution to its doom. But the Secessionists would not listen to us. They are now verifying our predictions, by fleeing with their slaves from the consequences of their own folly. —*St. Louis News.*

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE SOUTH.—There is some underground arrangement by which letters and packages pass the army boundaries each way. Letters from all important parts of the South pass to the cities of the North, and often as promptly as formerly by the old regular mails. Also, letters and articles are sent between confederates in the two sections by vessels which escape the blockade at Savannah and other ports of the South, and proceed to Nassau and the Bahamas, where the packages are redirected and enveloped, and sent on. Government spies are investigating the matter, and ought to be able to find out and stop some leaks.—*World.*

LANE'S STYLE.—A startling specimen of the obnoxious doings of "Jim Lane" is furnished in our dispatches from Tipton. After using the contents of two rebel stores to relieve some Union families, whom the secessionists had robbed, General Jim called the citizens of Pleasant Hill together, beneath the glorious Union flag, and entertained them with a live American speech. Pointing to the ensign he had raised, he said to them: "That flag has been your protection, and shall be still. So long as it remains here you are safe; but if it is cut down, by the Eternal, I will return and burn your town!" He then retired, with all his men. The affair occurred two weeks ago, and although the denizens of P

Miscellaneous Department.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

(HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN'S VISIT TO ITALY, MAY, 1861.)

BY MRS. ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

[We have a sad pleasure in giving to our readers the last poem of our late Special Contributor, Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, written shortly before her death. It came to us by the recent English steamer, inclosed in a note from her husband, who is now in London superintending the issue of a new and complete edition of her poetical works. It will be seen that her last word in literature is a tender memorial of friendship for one of her true friends.—*Eds. Independent.*]

"Now give us lands where the olives grow,"
Cried the North to the South,
"Where the sun with a golden mouth can blow
Blue bubbles of grapes down a vineyard-row!"
Cried the North to the South.

"Now give us men from the sunless plain,"
Cried the South to the North,
"By need of work in the snow and the rain
Made strong, and brave by familiar pain!"
Cried the South to the North.

"Give lucider hills and intenser seas,"
Said the North to the South,
"Since ever by symbols and bright degrees
Art, childlike, climbs to the dear Lord's knees,"
Said the North to the South.

"Give strenuous souls for belief and prayer,"
Said the South to the North,
"That stand in the dark on the lowest stair,
While affirming of God, 'He is certainly *there*,'"
Said the South to the North.

"Yet oh, for the skies that are softer and higher!"
Sighed the North to the South,
"—For the flowers that blaze, and the trees that aspire,
And the insects made of a song or a fire!"
Sighed the North to the South.

"And oh, for a seer, to discern the same!"
Sighed the South to the North,
"—For a poet's tongue of baptismal flame,
To call the tree and the flower by its name!"
Sighed the South to the North.

The North sent therefore a man of men
As a grace to the South—
And thus to Rome came Andersen:
"—*Alas, but must you take him again?*"
Said the South to the North.

Written at the end of May, 1861.

THE GREAT METHOD OF PEACE.

From "The Rejected Stone," by a Native of Virginia.*

It were a sad thing if we should suffer the clangor of arms to drown that angel choir that ever singeth of "Peace on earth and good will to men." We should indeed meet with utter indignation and execration that Devil's-peace, whose white flag now seeks to disguise the black one of the pirate and slaver, and to divide the forces that rally under that which alone now floats for Liberty and Justice. No war, however bloody or interminable, can be so horrible as that peace offered us by traitors in our midst—a peace whose quiet would be that of a nation's grave, whose outside repose would be but the cover of corruption and loathsome vermin. Against *such* a peace God has forever set his angel with the sword of flame. Between him and all wrong there can be no peace: the white flag of peace is only a flag of truce. The truce may last a month, a year, ten years; but between Justice and Injustice, Right and Wrong, Liberty and Slavery, there can only be a truce, never a peace. The very field of conciliation invariably turns out the field of battle: for before the song of "Peace on earth!" comes that of "Glory to God in the highest!"

But, my friends, though not a thousandth part so bad as a false peace, war is always wrong. It is sometimes, as now, necessary; but not absolutely, only relatively necessary — necessary, that is, only because we know not the things that make for our peace. There might be a peace at once, a peace consistent with our national honor and unity. But the means of it are hid from our nation's eyes. Every rebel might be disarmed to-morrow. But the victories of Peace require so much more courage than those of war, that they are rarely won. When we do conquer a peace, however, it will assuredly be by the use of a certain sword, which, if drawn to-day, would win us a peace to-day—a sword, too, which does not destroy, but makes alive.

Gregory of Tours walked near the palace of Soissons with Sylvius, the Bishop of Albi. "Do you see anything on that roof?" said Sylvius. "I see the standard which Hilperic the king has set up," replied the monk. "And you see nothing else?" inquired the Bishop. "No; do you see anything?" "I see the sword of Divine vengeance hung over that wicked house."

So it proved; so it ever will prove. When human endurance is at an end, the sentence of Heaven is close at hand. Such sentence is indeed pronounced through human lips, and executed by human hands; but when in an extremity, or by the necessity that knows no law, or rather obeys the highest of laws, a people is driven to enact some mighty change in society, they consummate the decree of the Universe. By such revolution God fulfils the oath he has sworn, that every wrong shall be overthrown, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of his Christ forever.

It does not require eyes so keen as those of the old French bishop to see the hair-strung sword of retribution hung over the palace of King Secession. While the North is now sending its young men to die on the battle-field, the sword yet sleeps in the scabbard by our side at sight of which rebellion would ground its arms. That sword is Emancipation. Fear or hate will inevitably draw it in the end: how much better that Justice and Mercy should draw it now! The common sense of the nation has already rendered the verdict that slavery is the cause of this trouble, yet we have forborne to touch that institution. Not only is slavery the historic cause of the rebellion, but it is the one thing that alone makes it practicable at the South. Slavery is itself essentially, and in its most quiet condition, a rebellion. It is a rebellion against the laws of this Universe—a guilty defiance of God and man. So it stood in reason before it bore its bitter fruits in practice. Nettle-roots sting not, but 'tis their law to produce the nettles that do sting. Hence slavery has not departed from its natural law in now seeking to lift its "bars" against "our banner in the sky." Its whole spirit and tendency is to engender that arrogance and self-aggrandizement which have culminated in this rebellion. To enslave four million is a suitable training for the enslavement of thirty. But, as we have said, it is not only the ultimate cause of secession; slavery alone renders the present attitude of the South possible. It is only because a slave can be left at home to till the soil, that the white man is able to bear arms in the army. Should it be once announced that every slave was, in the eye of the country, a free man, each Southerner would have to hurry home to be his own home-guard and his own home-provisioner. Such a measure would disband the Southern forces, and pin every rebel to his home. Their armies would soon "fold their tents, like the Arabs, and silently steal away." Every slave in the South, whether building breastworks or not, whether belonging to a loyalist or not, is, by the wealth and strength he produces in that section, really arrayed against the North. Some of us are hoping for an insurrection down there to demoralize their army. It will never come. Three fully armed watchmen can secure a hundred slaves from consultation or rising. Hercules will not come and take the wheel out of the rut for us. Nay, more, as long as we fail to use that weapon, it is one whose hilt may, at any critical moment, be grasped by the South and wielded with terrible effect. The Republic of Colombia placed a sword in every slave's hand, and proclaimed freedom to each and all who should rally to its defence. The South may follow their example, and thus, by proving itself more the negro's friend than the North, may turn our natural allies in their midst to our active and bitter foes. Dear as slavery is to the South, the hope of conquering the "Yankees" is dearer. Should they adopt this measure, we should be inevitably defeated in this war.

I feel profoundly impressed that the country should at once and most seriously look this matter in the face. In the rapid march of events, how soon may this sure weapon be carried beyond our reach! I therefore propose to look below the surface of this matter, and examine some of those popular errors concerning the policy of emancipation which have been industriously circulated and fostered by the defenders of slavery, and which may yet paralyze our arm in the great moment of its opportunity. These errors pass daily from tongue to tongue on our streets, in such phrases as, "the horrors of insurrection," "the scenes of St. Domingo"; and we are constantly asked, "What could we do with the negroes?"

It is a little singular that slavery has so long been able to keep up in the popular mind an idea that emancipation would bring all manner of evils and complications in its train, when the facts are so emphatically otherwise. The dictum is complacently announced in our midst, whilst nearly every civilized nation is at this moment enjoying the beneficent results of emancipation. Let us see:

On the 10th day of October, 1811, the Congress of Chili decreed that every child born of slave parents after that date should be free.

On the 9th of April, 1812, the government of Buenos Ayres declared the same free who should be born after the 1st of January, 1813.

On the 19th of July, 1821, the Congress of Colombia emancipated all the slaves who had borne arms for the defence of the Republic, and provided for the entire emancipation in eighteen years of all its slaves —280,000 in number.

On the 15th of September, 1821, Mexico granted immediate and unconditional emancipation to all its slaves.

On the 4th of July, 1827, the State of New York emancipated at once its 10,000 slaves.

On the 1st of August, 1834, Great Britain emancipated, at a cost of $100,000,000, all the slaves in her West Indian possessions—800,000 in number.

Here, now, are instances of every variety of emancipation—immediate, gradual, conditional, unconditional. And it has not only yet to be shown where and when any scene of violence or danger followed these decrees, in even a single instance, but it can be shown that each of these countries rose after them in the national scale as to security and general prosperity. This has been particularly the case in the West Indies, about which so many lies have been so industriously circulated. There, on one glorious night, 800,000 slaves knelt in their chapels, watching for Liberty's midnight-morning; and when the midnight hour rang out, they arose *freemen*. The morning's dawn found each one at his usual post of labor, and ready to continue to earn the legitimate produce of the island. There were scenes of joy such as might have drawn the gaze of hovering angels, there were such touching scenes as must attend the casting aside of grave-clothes, the emergence from the sepulchre of a people who have heard a Messiah saying, "Come forth! Unbind him hand and foot!". But there was not one scene of that rebellion and retribution which had been anticipated, perhaps because merited.

But we hear much of the "fearful scenes of St. Domingo." I have reserved mention of this island, because it contains for us a higher lesson than the practicability of emancipation (which it also teaches), even the formidable results which may follow an attempt to thwart the policy of emancipation when any exigency commands it. There is, indeed, a possibility that "the scenes of St. Domingo" may be repeated upon this continent; and it is not hard to foretell on whom the responsibility of their occurrence shall rest in such an event.

On the 28th of March, 1798, the National Assembly of France decreed that "all free persons" of St. Domingo should have the right of suffrage. This was passed at the solicitation of the free colored residents of the island, and was meant to confer the privilege of voting upon them. The planters became excessively indignant at this grant of political privileges to the free negroes, and denied them the right to avail themselves of it. Ogé, a mulatto, claimed the exercise of the right at the head of an army. A war-cry was the response. At length the planters, after the death of six thousand men, acquiesced, the French Assembly meanwhile inserting the word colored in their decree of suffrage, so as to make its grant to the free negroes unmistakable. Thus far there was no attempt by any party to free the slaves; indeed, the free negroes had helped at various times to suppress the insurrection of slaves against those very planters with whom they were themselves contending. In September, 1791, the French government revoked the decree of suffrage to the free negroes. It was doubtless as an expedient, for on the 4th of April of the next year the decree of rights was again issued, and three Commissioners with six thousand troops sent by France to St. Domingo to enforce it. Thereupon the planters inaugurated a conspiracy to place their island in the hands of England. The French Commissioners, hearing of the approach of English troops, and finding that they must resist an assault from that power with about 21,000 troops, on three-fourths of which (they being the militia of the country) they could not rely, at once emancipated the slaves—500,000 in number—a measure which France or England may yet, in the same way, compel the United States to adopt. The British evacuation of St. Domingo took place in 1798. Then Toussaint l'Ouverture, the black Washington, arose, and on the 1st of July, 1801, the independence of St. Domingo was declared.

Let it be remembered that up to this time there were no "fearful scenes" in St. Domingo, except such as were occasioned by a mad rebellion of the white planters against the just decrees of their government. And each fresh horror came of their mad conspiracy to transfer the island to foreign powers. The slaves, after their manumission by the French Commissioners, went on for the most part working patiently, as before, seeking no political privileges, until this quiet was changed by the conspiracies of the planters to betray them, now to this nation, now to that—to any that would reënslave them. When their liberties were assaulted, eight years after they were legally gained, by Napoleon, these men showed themselves worthy of those liberties, by defending them as brave men have done in every age and land; and, instead of such defence being attended with barbarities on the part of the negroes, the whole history of the Haytian Republic down to this day is a continuous record and attestation of French and English and Spanish treacheries and cruelties—perfidies and cruelties persistent and almost incredible — and of heroism, patience, and only too much generosity, on the part of the negroes.

Indeed, there never was a siege or campaign of one of these white nations which was not followed by outrages for the cruelty of which the records of insurrection furnish no parallel. In even the insurrection of Nat Turner, in Virginia, the violation of woman formed no part. In the plan of Denmark Vesey, in South Carolina, there was a stern prohibition against any wanton outrage, and not a blow was aimed but would have been essential to liberation. No woman or child was ever slain, except it was certain they would be able to alarm neighborhoods, and defeat the plan of insurrection; and the blow, wherever it fell, was swift, the death instant, where in other lands vindictive tortures have been resorted to. The motto of the negro, in the few instances where he has struck for his freedom, has always been *Liberty*, never *Vengeance*. In this regard, the mildest race in the world has been most infamously slandered, or absurdly misunderstood.

As far as any minds are haunted by the question, "What shall we do with the negroes, should we free them?" we have to say, that we should do with them just what was done in the seven cases of modern times already named, in each of which the same question, "What shall we do with them?" cleared away like a phantom before the dawn of emancipation. The measure was followed in each case by no evil, and by every happy result. With the South, indeed, as with others, the palaces of the few might shrink, but the huts of the many would expand to homes of comfort. Immense plantations would become smaller, but the little patch of ground that scarcely sustains the poor white of the South would be enlarged. And with this whole false state of society would pass away the effeminacy, the licentiousness, the arrogance, and general barbarism which are the legitimate brood of slavery, and which have shown their power to make the fairest and broadest country of the earth a cage of unclean birds.

There is one lesson that the negro temperament easily learns, and one which a long training has confirmed—that is obedience. He *may* presently become a blind insurrectionist, and his wrath sweep like a conflagration through the land; we shall then see that it was a false mercy to the South, and a great injustice to the whole country, that he was not (as he may be now) transformed into a controllable power and subject of the nation.

As far as their able-bodied workmen are concerned, there is plenty for them to do. Our broad lands north and south need their labor as much as ever. As far as the many aged and the children and invalids—who at present, without risk, could not remain in the South—are concerned, we should be more fortunate than any emancipating nation ever was before. Hayti sits at this moment waiting to help this great work, willing to send her every ship to our shores and bear to her shores every negro who will go. The Queen of the Antilles sits on her throne of plenty—her shores gilded with richest fruits, calling only for hands to gather and turn them into wealth—offering every colored man who will come the bounty of a free voyage thither and a land grant on his arrival. With one word of recognition, this government can secure at once the peace and safety of both Hayti and America.*

Is it not melancholy that nations so generally wait to be driven by hard physical necessity to do great and just deeds? The just measure which, if done from a high motive and in calmness, produces pure and beneficent results to all, if done afterward, under the compulsion of fear or as a measure of vengeance, brings those results fearfully alloyed with difficulties and dangers. The work that God gives us to do, we do a great deal better than it will be done it we send it back for him to do. What the French Assembly might have written peacefully on parchment, but refused, God soon after wrote with a pen of iron, and in blood-red ink, on every street in Paris. When we leave it to Providence to do our work, Providence always brings with it a mixture of hell-fire, to teach the foolish world how much better it is to do its own work. The abolition of slavery, which is almost inevitable during this war, would, if accomplished at this moment, unselfishly and grandly, simply because the war power has brought the nation to the one glorious moment when it *can legally abolish it*, be a peace measure: erelong it will be a fierce and fearful war measure, almost as painful to the party forced to use it as to those at whom it will be aimed.

Ah, if this nation but knew, in this its day, the things that belong to its peace! Now they are hid from its eyes. Hid—but not because they are not just before us, not because it is too late to avail ourselves of them; they are hid because our eyes are weak and averted, not having the courage to look squarely before us. Glorious as our national uprising has been, it has not yet reached that pure and peaceful elevation that, with a wave of the divine wand of rectitude, could sway without a blow the muttering Caliban of Rebellion.

An old man lately looked upon the pale, dead face of his slain son, and said, "Slavery, then, has thus entered my own door." Into how many doors has it come! Already within six months some ten thousand young men of America have been sacrificed on the unholy altar of human bondage. Already stalwart arms are idle, trade languishes at her marts, and the cry of the poor at the North begins to answer that of the oppressed at the South; together their voices cry to God and man, saying: "Men and Brethren, what great good has this institution ever done, what good is it now doing or expected to do, that would make it desirable to sacrifice one single human life to it, much less thousands of lives? What is there in slavery that would make it well to sacrifice to it the bread of one weeping child, much less the living of thousands? Why, O why this cruel tenacity to an unmitigated evil, and one which alone makes this war possible? Does it make the slaveholder a good man, or a wise and peaceful and happy man? Does it make freemen noble, brave, devoted to the right? Does it add to the nation's wealth, culture, progress, or happiness? Is it not an unmitigated and blighting curse, now heavy upon every man, woman, and child in this land? Look, then, America, into the palid faces of thy slain young men; follow from home to home where the destroying angel has passed; listen to the growing cry for work, already changing to the fiercer cry for bread; see paralyzed trade and closed schools; and tell us what there is in human oppression so sacred that its blood-splashed chariot-wheels must not be stayed?

* It is almost unpardonable, indeed, that our government has not already spoken that word, and the failure may be attributed chiefly to the fact that we have nobody whose business it is to attend to such matters. It may be said, just here, that it is high time that another department in our government should be recognized and formally created, one whose duty shall be a suitable attention to the slavery question, and the momentous and complex affairs growing out of it day by day. We need a new Cabinet officer for this. It is of infinitely more importance than the Bureau for the Indians. The government has already drifted hopelessly, and without any certain policy, amidst the fragments and snags of this half-wrecked institution, one policy in Missouri, another in Virginia. Let the peril be provided for at once. It may be, before long, seen that the issue of our country's life or death rests with the slavery question; already it is generally felt that, whilst there is the utmost need that we should have a policy on the matter to which we can adhere, there is a painful confusion of thought among the people, and action among their rulers, as to what is, or should be, the attitude of the government toward that institution. Let our government reassure the public, by making it certain that we shall not be wrecked on this rock, for want of a special pilot to watch and warn.

* Boston: Walker, Wise & Co.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

DEUS EVERSOR!

"God Shall Overturn."

Deus Eversor! "Amen, it was well!"
We say, and, looking back,
See the crushed ruins of the powers that were
Lie strewn along Time's track.

The ruins and the wrecks of pomp and power,
The glories of the past,
The tyrannies upbuilded on the wrong,
The giant shadows cast

Across the gateway of Eternal Truth,
The Babels reared on high,
The manacles for Freedom, and the laws
That mocked at equity.

Deus eversor! thundered down the word,
And swept the pathway clear,
Nor stayed for Roman power, or Grecian fame,
For courage or for fear.

Deus eversor! "God, so let it be!"
But now we pray it low,
And hold our breath the while, with shrinking dread,
Before prophetic woe—

The devastation, earthquake, ruin, blood,
That prophecy must bring,
Ere earth is ready, in humility,
To throne her coming King.

It needs a firm step on the vantage ground
Of calm and steady faith,
Ere we, with steady hearts, can echo back
The words the prophet saith;

Ere we can see the nations fall and rise;
Friends on the battle-field,
The firm supports of government and law
To treacherous ruin yield,

And sing, "Amen! amen! So let it be!"
Nor lips or hearts complain;
Deus eversor, till the right shall win,
The Lord of freedom reign.

Newport, R. I. ELLEN.

AT HOME.

From The Liberator.

In compliance with an invitation officially extended to us to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at West Chester, on the 24th ult., we left home on Saturday, the 19th, to spend two or three days in advance in the the city of New York. Sunday forenoon, we embraced the opportunity to attend, for the first time, religious services at the Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, whereof Henry Ward Beecher is pastor. The Church is a large and an admirably constructed edifice, of about the dimensions of the Tremont Temple in this city, and at an early hour was crowded with an unusually intelligent and wide-awake audience—as, we were told, it invariably is, no matter what may be the state of the weather or the times. This is owing to the widespread fame which Mr. Beecher has acquired as a public lecturer and pulpit orator; and his fame comes from his rare versatility of talent, fluency of speech, affluence of illustration, copiousness and vigor of thought, earnestness of manner, strong individuality, large common sense, liberal and independent spirit, genial temperament, personal magnetism, warm-hearted humanity, and dramatic action. There is no similar case of long-continued pulpit attractiveness in this country. True, in addition to the regular attendants in populous Brooklyn, multitudes are drawn across the ferry from New York, who are equally curious and interested listeners. In singing, a small choir takes the lead, joined by the immense assembly in a standing position: the effect is inspiring. The subject of the sermon was Conscience—its functions and manifestations—and it was treated with marked ability, on a phrenological rather than an "evangelical" basis. Before commencing his sermon, Mr. Beecher made a few prefatory remarks in relation to the "contrabands" at Fortress Monroe (in whose aid a collection was taken up), and also to the case of Gen. Fremont, for whom he expressed the warmest regard, and in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. The tribute evidently gave the utmost satisfaction.

Sunday evening, we listened to one of the series of powerful anti-slavery discourses in process of delivery by Rev. Dr. Cheever. It was most gratifying to see his church thronged on the occasion; but as the sermon was mainly devoted to a defence of the United States Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, it seemed to us as ill-timed (especially now as the old Union is broken asunder) as it was, and as every such effort must be, futile. Still it commanded unbroken attention to a late hour; and wherever it struck an effective blow at slavery, it elicited warm approbation. Dr. C. is unwearied in his labors to break the fetters of the oppressed, and speaks "in demonstration of the spirit and with power."

Monday evening, it was our privilege to meet, in a social manner, a large company of highly intellectual and gifted friends of freedom—an account of which interview, copied from The Anti-Slavery Standard, was published in last week's *Liberator*. We shall long remember it with high satisfaction.

Tuesday we took the train for Philadelphia, stopping by the way, over night, at the residence of our esteemed friend, Cyrus Peirce, at Bristol, and receiving from the entire household the kindest attentions and the warmest hospitality. In the circle of friends gathered in the evening for a free interchange of sentiments, we were particularly gratified in once more taking by the hand our early, tried, brave and eloquent friend, Robert Purvis, Esq., of Byberry, with his estimable wife, a daughter of the late honored James Forten, and both identified in complexion and destiny with an oppressed and deeply injured race.

Wednesday, we arrived in Philadelphia—a city which we always visit with pleasure—and in the evening were privileged to attend the weekly meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, at the residence of Dr. Child. In addition to the members of the Circle many others were present, making the aggregate more than a hundred, and presenting a most animating spectacle. It was an occasion of great interest and pleasure to us.

Thursday morning, accompanied by a delegation of the early and untiring friends of our cause, we took the train for West Chester, and there participated in the proceedings of the State A. S. Society during that and the next day. Five sessions were held, the beloved and venerated James Mott in the chair. In consequence of the convulsed state of the country, and the paradoxical aspects of the present bloody conflict, so as to change the position or alter the action of many claiming to be the friends of peace and anti-slavery, we were anticipating considerable diversity of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by the Society, especially as nearly all present were more or less identified with Quaker sentiments; but we were very agreeably disappointed in this particular. Remarkable unity of feeling and views prevailed throughout; and in the adoption of the official Statement published last week, there was entire concurrence. Among those who participated in the discussions were Lucretia Mott, J. Miller McKim, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Anna E. Dickinson, Rev. N. R. Johnston of Vermont, Thomas Garrett, Chandler Darlington, Thomas Whitson, Robert Purvis, Edwin H. Coates, Joseph A. Dugdale, Thomas Curtis, and Osborne P. Anderson—the last-named one of the colored compatriots of John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

There was some diversity of opinion as to whether the Memorial to Congress, which has been so extensively circulated, compromised the principles of the Society in the matter of compensation; but it was generally viewed as sufficiently guarded in that particular, and many copies were distributed for signatures in that region.

Though the attendance was not quite as large as usual, especially on the part of the younger portion (a number of whom had "gone to the war"), yet those present constituted a body remarkable for their solid character and rare moral worth; and it is believed that no anniversary of the Society ever gave more satisfaction, or indicated a more earnest purpose to prosecute its great work until the triumphant completion thereof in the abolition of the slave system.

It was our happy privilege to spend Saturday and Sunday at Longwood, and to address a full gathering on Sunday forenoon, in the Progressive Friends' meeting-house—being followed by Thomas Curtis, of Philadelphia, who thought that the Calvinistic view of the atonement was the main cause of the existence of slavery in the land! [About the same relation, we think, that Goodwin Sands bore to the Tenterden steeple!] A forcible and eloquent address on slavery and the war was made by Anna E. Dickinson, who, though young in years, gives great promise as a public speaker in the future.

To Oliver and Mary A. W. Johnson, in New York—to Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, J. Miller McKim and family, James and Lucretia Mott, in Philadelphia—to Simon Barnard and family in West Chester—to Isaac and Dinah Mendenall, John and Hannah Cox, Chandler and Hannah M. Darlington, in Longwood—and to all others who bestowed upon us their kind and generous hospitality—we return our most grateful acknowledgements.

No single visit, in our whole experience, has ever been so crowded with pleasant incidents as this; and we return home all the better for it in health and spirits.

GEORGE THOMPSON ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

[On Thursday evening, Oct. 17, George Thompson, Esq., delivered a Lecture on the American Slaveholders' Rebellion before a numerous assembly, in the Corn Exchange, Preston, England. To enable his hearers to understand the nature and cause of the Rebellion, he dwelt at some length upon the history of Slavery and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States, reciting facts so familiar to our readers that it would be quite superfluous to reproduce them here. The concluding portion of the Lecture, as reported in the Preston *Guardian*, we must not withhold from our readers.]

Many were desirous of knowing what the chances of the negro were as regarded the present struggle. The simple cause of the war, it must be premised, was slavery. He thought it had been demonstrated that such a division, war and contention must have come, sooner or later. As to the chances of the war, there could be no doubt that the resources of the North were vastly greater than those of the South; numerically the North was as 20,000,000 to nine. The South was bankrupt in both money, credit, and reputation. The South was in the wrong, and the North was in the right. The South was fighting for slavery, professedly and declaredly. When Mr. Stephens made a speech to his constituents at Savannah, he being the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, and expounded the document of the new Constitution to the people, he said that the sum and substance of it was that they had simply reversed the declaration of independence—that whereas Thomas Jefferson had declared in it that all men were born equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, the principle of the new government was that men were not born equal and not invested with those rights; moreover, that the colored race was inferior to the white race, and created by God to be placed in a state of subjection to the white race; and that slavery, as existing and administered in the Southern States of America, was the normal condition of the negro, and the very condition in which God designed him to be placed after he was brought from his condition of barbarism in Africa, that he might learn and taste the blessings of civilization and Christianity! Then, Mr. Stephens wound up by saying, in blasphemous imitation of Scripture, that "this stone"—this document—"which the builders (the fathers of the revolution) rejected we have made the chief corner-stone of our republican edifice." The North was not ostensibly fighting for the abolition of slavery—it was fighting firstly for national existence—there could be no question of that; and whatever little interest was demanded of Englishmen on behalf of the North, still to them it was a vital question—"to be or not to be," that was the question. They had a Constitution once; it was blotted, and trampled upon, and defied; they had laws, and property; but their laws were violated, and the property had fallen into felon hands; and they were as a people fighting to maintain their own existence, and to recover the *status in quo ante bello*. It was a lawful object, and reasonable, according to the laws of nations; and though he (the lecturer) should feel no deep sympathy with them so far as he cared about whether or not they were united to the South again, yet, having always had the wish of seeing freedom triumphant, he could from his heart say of the South, "Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone"; let him take his property with him if he pleases; we, the North, with our broad lands, and our sublime mountains, and our rolling rivers, will adhere to the principles of the Puritans, and the engrafted sentiments of Great Britain, and we will bring up a brighter, a purer, and a more permanent Confederacy, and we will establish a government upon principles which no law, human or divine, can condemn—a government which, unlike that of the South, if held up to the light of the world, would not be found to be based upon the oppression of the people. Why, however, had not the Northerners at once proclaimed the abolition of slavery as their object? Mr. Lincoln said he never could at first do that. He swore on the steps of the Capitol that he would support the Constitution. The effect of the abolition of slavery would be unconstitutional; but at the same time circumstances might arise when the exigencies of the case would demand, warrant and justify, and render absolutely necessary such a proclamation. He (Mr. Thompson) was not going to find fault with ministers or Presidents. He knew the motives by which they were often influenced. He had exclusive sources of information in America, and he believed it was their united opinion that the cause of the slave was being advanced better by letting the war now take its own course than by at once issuing a proclamation freeing all the slaves in the country. He did not mean to maintain that opinion himself; but he gave it as that of others. They said that nothing could be done more to damage slavery than what was now being done. Almost every other man in the United States was of opinion that the war would finish by the abolition of slavery. In the meantime, it was held prudent and politic not to put that end forward as one of the objects of the war. It was, however, obvious that no war could be carried on against the South without menacing the safety, and working, in some degree, the destruction of the institution of slavery as the ultimate result. He thought just fault, however, might be found with Mr. Lincoln for having declined the offers from the colored men of the United States to enroll themselves under the banner of the Union. But he knew that the colored men of the North did not mean always to remain aloof from the war. Many fugitive slaves in Canada were now impatient to go. Thousands were already equipped and waiting for their opportunity. The weakness of the South consisted not only in the insignificance of the numbers of its own population as compared with that of the North; but behind the great army of the Confederates on the banks of the Potomac there were 4,000,000 slaves, and he (Mr. Thompson) did not think it possible, if the United States army should advance much further south from the point which they had now reached, long to prevent the rising of the slaves *en masse* in the South. If such should be the case, he thought the South would have really no element in itself sufficiently strong to suppress the rebellion. The hopes of the Abolitionists were very strong that this war would end in the abolition of slavery. The impression of his own friends was that one of two things would happen—the reintegration of the States without slavery, or entire separation of the slave States from the North. He was of Earl Russell's opinion, as expressed at Newcastle the other day, that this war, on the part of the North, if prosecuted with the view to compel the South to surrender or to submit, was a fruitless one, for the South would never surrender or submit. Then he could not see how the North could ever reannex the South to the Union, or ever be able to govern that country. They must leave a little army to garrison every town they might leave as they marched along, and thus they would want more soldiers than their pecuniary resources would enable them to support, and in the end they would have to retire and leave the slaveholders to themselves, certainly if the slaves were not emancipated or did not revolt. He believed that there was not a company in any regiment in the field that did not contain some young man who was a sterling Abolitionist, who had gone to the war just because the question of the abolition of slavery was involved in its issue, and who was determined that, so far as the national flag was carried, the flag for the abolition of slavery should be unfurled. As to the expediency of the war, there was a great variety of opinions. He could have wished that it had never been engaged in, and that the Abolitionists, pure and simple, had entirely stood aloof from it. He thought their object would have been better attained if there had been no war, and they would have been more consistent with their pacific principles had they stood aloof from it and held those principles in their native purity. But looking at the state of things as they were presented on the other side of the Atlantic, however we might deplore that sanguinary conflict and however we might abhor war, which, in its initiation, progress, and end, was evil and only evil, and never could afford compensation save in the results which might follow, yet all must hope that that compensation will remain to us after the indefinite expenditure of blood and treasure, and that the 4,000,000 slaves, the question of whose serfdom had caused the war, would obtain emancipation by means of it, and America be saved the scandal and curse which had been her reproach so long; that we in this district, so far as we were the customers of the Southern States, and the world at large, might receive from the shores of that land the produce of the soil unpolluted by the blood of oppression; and that America might stand in the same position as this country now did—that through the whole extent of the empire over which her flag might wave it might not float over either the despot or the slave. Mr. Thompson spoke for two hours, and resumed his seat amidst loud applause.

ARMY POETRY.

From The Philadelphia Press.

The war, if it results in wounds and death, also produces much exquisite poetry. The solitude of the camps, the thought of absence from friends and home, the expectation of battle, and all the natural risks incident to the life of a soldier, are well calculated to inspire serious and sentimental reflection. The apprehension of parents and friends that military experience leads to dissipation and recklessness is not generally well-founded. Many, who at home are not in the habit of thinking of religion or of their own future state, meditate profoundly upon these things amid the loneliness of camp life. The following beautiful lines were written by a private in company G, of Stuart's Engineer Regiment, now at Camp Lesley, near Washington. In explanation of one of the verses of the poem, it is right to state that white rags are frequently scattered along the sentinel's post, of a dark night, to mark his beat:

THE COUNTERSIGN.

BY FRANK G. WILLIAMS,

Of Company G, Stuart's Engineer Regiment.

Alas! the weary hours pass slow,
The night is very dark and still,
And in the marshes far below,
I hear the bearded whip-poor-will;
I scarce can see a yard ahead,
My ears are strained to catch each sound—
I hear the leaves about me shed,
And the springs bubbling through the ground.

Along the beaten path I pace,
Where white rags mark my sentry's track;
In formless shrubs I seem to trace
The foeman's form, with bending back;
I think I see him crouching low—
I stop and list—I stoop and peer,
Until the neighboring hillocks grow
To groups of soldiers far and near.

With ready piece I wait and watch,
Until my eyes familiar grow,
Detect each harmless earthern notch,
And turn guerillas into stone:
And then amid the lonely gloom,
Beneath the tall old chesnut trees,
My silent marches I resume,
And think of other times than these.

"Halt! Who goes there?" My challenge cry,
It rings along the watchful line;
"Relief!" I hear a voice reply—
"Advance, and give the countersign;"
With bayonet at the charge I wait—
The corporal gives the mystic word;
With arms aport I charge my mate,
Then onward pass, and all is well.

But in the tent that night, awake,
I ask, if in the fray I fall,
Can I the mystic answer make
When the angelic sentries call?
And pray that Heaven may so ordain,
Where'er I go, what fate be mine,
Whether in pleasure or in pain,
I still may have the Countersign.

FAREWELL FROM THE REV. WILLIAM H. CHANNING.

To the Editor of The London Inquirer.

My Dear Sir: Will you grant me space in a few words to bid my friends in Great Britain farewell. It is known to many that I had accepted an invitation from the Effra-road Chapel Society, of Brixton, to become their minister at the close of my engagement in Hope Street Church. This acceptance was given at a time when I felt the strongest confidence that the monstrous conspiracy of the slaveholders against the life of the republic of the United States would be swiftly crushed. In that hope I returned to visit our nation; in that hope I have remained unshaken by all disappointments and disasters; in this constant hope I abide. But, though I have no doubt as to the final issue of the terrible life or death struggle, through which our republic is to become new-born—redeemed from the crime and curse of slavery—reconciled in perpetual union by universal freedom; yet the events of the past three months have proved that severe sacrifices must be liberally offered, and heroic efforts strenuously put forth, before the work of atonement can be made complete. Assured as we may feel of the triumph of justice and liberty throughout the length and breadth of our nation, it would be presumptuous to predict at what time and by what means God will grant us peace. We can but do our duty bravely and firmly, and await the decisions of His will.

Some weeks since, in view of the perils overhanging the republic, I forewarned my friends at Liverpool and at Brixton, that I felt in honor and in conscience bound to postpone my return. Immediately afterward I received an invitation to preach at Washington. And the result of my visit has been a call from the Unitarian Society there to become their pastor. This call I cannot disobey, for it comes to me as providential. It is very little, indeed, that any one person can do, amidst a movement so vast, complex, and resistless, as that which now sweeps our nation onward to the accomplishment of its destiny. But everyone who loves this republic, who believes in its essential principles, who longs for its redemption, and hopes for its growth towards a perfect realization of its glorious ideal of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable," is bound to consecrate his best energies in its behalf. I can never willingly leave the United States again until this awful conspiracy of a slaveholding military despotism shall disappear, like a lurid eclipse, and a new day of peaceful progress shall shed noontide light upon the Union of Freemen. Heaven speed that time!

Thus, then, dear friends, I am bidden by the claim of urgent duties to say, for a season at least, farewell. On some not distant day may it be my privilege, by the spoken or the written word, to send you the glad news of peace—peace established by equal justice, peace crowned by fraternal good-will, peace perfected in liberty and law made one. Meanwhile, let our brethren in Great Britain learn to trust and to respect the loyal Republicans of the United States, who are fighting the great battle of Christian civilization against barbarous anarchy for the world. In our triumph you will all one day rejoice as a common blessing to mankind. Do yourselves the honor, then, to give us your hearty God-speed now in our time of trial. Yours, in good hope,

William Henry Channing.

TWO PICTURES.

PRISONERS NORTH AND SOUTH.

In the Southern States there are, at the present time, if death has not released them, two men born on American soil and entitled to American protection, who, having been so unfortunate as to be captured by the rebels, have by them been sold into slavery; a deed more like that of a barbarous tribe than of a people pretending to establish a formal government and assuming to be governed by international law. The two men are held not as prisoners of war, but as property to be transferred from man to man. But we must not harry too far the feelings of our readers: Let them not waste their indignation. The two men to whom we refer are only colored men!

We speak of Walter Goodyear and Levi Mann, who, our readers may remember, were stewards on the Star of the West when that steamer was seized by the rebels last May in the Gulf, having gone down there for the purpose of taking on board the United States troops who remained loyal when Gen. Twiggs abandoned them. The two stewards were sold by auction in Montgomery. On that occasion we wrote: "The honor of this government will be stained if it do not make its own the cause of Levi Mann and Walter Goodyear." We wrote strongly as we felt strongly. We thought that the nation's honor was concerned in demonstrating and making every effort in behalf of two men, who, if not American citizens, were at least American men, acting in the service of their country, and as much entitled to that country's protection, if calamity came upon them in serving it, as though they were pure Caucasians.

The other day a paragraph went the rounds of the press, copied from a South Carolina paper, proposing that the "Yankee" prisoners should be let out and set to work on the cotton plantations. Had this proposal been acted on, what a storm of indignation would have swept through the North! what thoughts of revenge would have awakened! When, however, a case of the treatment of two colored prisoners of war is involved, what cool indifference we see displayed on the part of the nation! We see them neglected and abandoned without remonstrance, and hardly with a passing thought.

But this unconcern towards dark-skinned men wholly vanishes when we have to deal with those of the rebels. With what a tenderness do we then approach the subject of emancipation! We speak of it in coy and guarded speech, with visions of Fort Lafayette before us. It is the never-to-be-mentioned subject of the household, never broached save by some indiscreet *enfant terrible*, who straightway has his foot stamped on below the table, and who is frowned into a proper consciousness of having spoken of that which he ought not, by the graver members of the family. With what punctiliousness, nay, ostentation, nay, officiousness, is the republic engaged in throwing its broad shield before the divine right of slavery! offering a strange contrast